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Unions Map Counter-Drive to Halt Wage Cuts World Labor Intensifies Boycott Against Hitler

Conference of I. F. T. U. Calls for Relentless War On the Fascist Regimes

Citrine Says British Labor Wants Peace, But Will Fight Hitler to the Bitter End—Hicks Tells of Effectiveness of Boycott on Third Reich—Reports on Terror and Concentration Camps

COPENHAGEN.—Intensification of labor's world economic boycott against the Hitler regime was voted by the conference of the International Federation of Trade Unions, which has just concluded its sessions here.

This action was taken after a stirring address by George Hicks, M.P., who reported on the progress of the boycott and denounced fascism and all its works in terms that brought the delegates from more than a score of countries to their feet.

The delegates were welcomed by Thorvald Stauning, Socialist prime minister of Denmark, who greeted the conference in the name of the Danish government and workers. That the British trade unions stand for a policy of collective peace and for the proper examination of Hitler's proposals were key points of a speech by Sir Walter M. Citrine, Secretary of the British Trades Union Congress.

Citrine is President of the Federation and he was cordially greeted by the delegates.

"As far as the British trade unions are concerned, we wish to place under the searchlight of examination whatever offers or suggestions Hitler has made," said Mr. Citrine.

Seeking Pacific Solution

"Our policy is the policy of collective peace. We believe that the nations must get together soon, or they will find themselves faced with a strong military Germany which may attempt to carry out those threats which Hitler and the Nazis have been talking about for some years.

"We must give every support to the efforts made by Arthur Henderson at the Disarmament Conference for a pacific solution of the world's troubles.

"If I read the tone and temper of our Movement in Great Britain aright, the moment the Movement believes that Hitler has no intention of coming into any general (Continued on Page Six)

Gorman Orders Strike to Stop Any Wage Cuts

Textile Leader Tells Workers to Quit As Soon As Pay Slashes Are Made—Georgia Governor Summons Troops

WASHINGTON, D. C.—Georgia, one of the main provinces of the textile oligarchy, is ruled by a governor preparing arms in support of wage reductions and extension of the hours of labor by corporations. Reports wired to the union headquarters from Georgia, declares Francis J. Gorman, vice-president of the United Textile Workers, "show that state, under Governor Talmadge, to be the worst spot in the union." Four mills are on strike against this alliance of political power and the exploiters and the textile workers have been instructed to "strike the minute wages are cut or hours lengthened."

The statement of Mr. Gorman is charged with elementary resentment of the set-up in Georgia and reads as follows:

Georgia's Governor
"The governor of Georgia, who seems to have no regard for law or decency, has his state troops mobilized just outside of Atlanta, for the purpose of compelling workers to accept wage cuts and lengthening of hours.

"Our information is that the state army is mobilized at Fort McPherson, under command of Adj. Gen. Lindley Camp.

"Today Gen. Johnson talked about 'greasy little human buzzards' who set up cut costs by 'using the whip of starvation to lash the bent backs of emaciated (Continued on Page Three)

Men's Clothing Workers Ready For Big Battle

Amalgamated Summons Its Members to Rally in Defense of the Union's Conquests—Schlossberg Favors Labor Party

By Gertrude Weil Klein
THE answer of the Amalgamated Clothing Workers of America to the blow leveled at the NRA by the Supreme Court decision, was an immediate call to arms by the largest group in the organization—the New York Joint Board.

And the prompt and concrete response to that call, is a pledge to raise a war chest of one million dollars! The end of the NRA, these workers feel, will be the signal for a concerted attack on conditions which the union has won for its members through many years of fighting, and this they are preparing to resist to the utmost.

At a meeting of Joint Board and all local Executive Board delegates on Monday evening—a meeting, which because of the size and spirit of the turnout was more in the nature of a mass meeting than that of a delegated body—General President Sidney Hillman, Secretary-Treasurer Joseph Schlossberg, and the local officers, Louis Hollander and Joseph Catalanotti, co-managers of the Joint Board, Murray Weinstein, Manager of the Cutters' Union and Abraham Miller, Secretary-Treasurer of the Joint Board, issued a declaration of war against every chiseling, anti-union manufacturer and a warning to any union manufacturer who will try to enter the chiseling class.

Hillman Scores Court
All speakers were unanimous in pointing out that the Amalgamated existed before the NRA was thought of, that it had withstood many battles, whether in victory or in defeat, and that its whole history was one of push and fight. Said President Hillman: "There is nothing to worry about. The Amalgamated is stronger today than at any time in its history. We are represented in more parts of the country than ever before and we have more members now than we had in 1920, when there were more workers in the industry."

Mr. Hillman compared the decision of the Supreme Court to the Dred Scott decision. "The Supreme Court said," he declared, "that the Constitution prohibited Congress from interfering with slavery. Those in power rejoiced. Everything was settled, they thought. But in less than four years civil war was declared in the country. And we say to the Wall Street crowd, to the speculators, the sweatshoppers, the big corporations, it is too soon to rejoice, too soon for champagne parties!" (Continued on Page Two)

Labor Urged to Boycott Berlin Olympics of 1936

LONDON.—The Executive Committee of the National Workers' Sports Ass'n passed the following resolution at its recent meeting:

"In view of the anti-worker attitude of the German Government in suppressing the trade unions, labor and Socialist political organizations and the workers' sports associations, this Executive Committee of the N. W. S. A. urges all workers' sports associations and individual members of all workers' organizations to boycott the Berlin Olympic games of 1936, to refuse to compete thereat, or to assist in any way, either directly or indirectly."

Individual members of the association and the affiliated bodies are urged to observe the viewpoint expressed in this resolution.

400,000 Miners Get Orders for Strike June 16

Detailed Instructions for the Walkout Sent by U.M.W.—Toolers Asked to Maintain Discipline in Impending Struggle

WASHINGTON, D. C.—Following breakdown of negotiations for a new wage contract, the United Mine Workers of America, through President John L. Lewis, ordered more than 400,000 miners in all bituminous fields to strike at midnight June 16.

The present contract expires at the hour set for the strike to begin. "In the absence of orders to the contrary," the call said, "the mining of coal will cease on that date and all members of the United Mine Workers of America in the bituminous industry, exclusive of those otherwise excepted, will refrain from entering the mines."

"This suspension will continue until terminated by action of the International Policy Committee of the United Mine Workers of America and until you are further advised."

The exceptions are workers who are to be permitted to stay on the job "to insure proper care and protection of all mining property."

"Pumpers, engineers and others necessary to protect the property must be allowed to remain at work," the instructions said. "The fullest cooperation must be given mine management in order to safeguard and protect property and under no circumstances should this rule be violated or set aside by local unions."

"The present situation in the bituminous mining industry calls (Continued on Page Three)

Garment Union Moves to Defend Workers' Gains

I. L. G. W. U. Summons Its Members to Uncompromising Struggle to Maintain Standards—Urges Independent Action

INSTRUCTIONS preparatory to the expected strike of more than 35,000 cloakmakers in New York were issued Wednesday to 1,300 shop chairmen by the International Ladies' Garment Workers' Union at a meeting in Beethoven Hall.

Authorization for a strike to stop the efforts of employers to wreck existing wage and work standards was given last week by the general executive board of the union.

Speakers at the meeting included David Dubinsky, president of the I.L.G.W.U.; Isidore Nagler, manager of the Cloakmakers' Joint Board, and Joseph Breslaw, president of the Cloak Pressers' Union.

Resolutions were adopted calling upon the workers in the shops to keep close watch on observance of standards. The workers were instructed also not to do any work on garments intended for the fall trade, pending development of present negotiations with the employers.

Collective agreements which expired June 1, are being continued unofficially while the union seeks in understanding for their renewal. In informed circles it is believed that the attitude of the jobbers in trying to force a breakdown of existing standards, particularly on the question of limitation of contractors and jobber responsibility for wages and hours, makes a strike probable.

I.L.G.W.U. in Stirring Call to Its Members

DECLARING that "we have built a fortress that no enemy can destroy" and that the "old order shall not come back," the General Executive Board of the International Ladies' Garment Workers' Union has issued a manifesto to its members that rings with a fighting idealism that is inspiring. Signed by President David Dubinsky, the manifesto is sent to all the members as a challenge to the employing class in the industry.

High spots in the manifesto is the warning to employers that the union will not tolerate breaking down of labor standards which the recent Supreme Court decision on the NRA invites; that the 35-hour week has come to stay; that additional campaigns against the return of the sweatshop will be waged (Continued on Page Two)

A. F. of L. Council Meets To Devise Action Program In Crisis Facing Workers

Green Summons Leaders to Discuss Serious Situation Arising from Nullification of NRA—Clarion Call Awaited for Resistance to Employers' Offensive on Labor Standards

Socialist Plan For Amendment Of Constitution

Waldman Presents Draft for Changing Fundamental Laws to Meet Supreme Court's NRA Decision and Nation's Needs

EXPLOITERS of labor have begun a merciless policy of wage-cutting and the "chiselers" of yesterday now have a clear road, save as they are hindered by strong labor unions," declared Louis Waldman, state chairman of the Socialist Party, in an address over Station WEVD. He added that Labor's battle must be waged on two fronts: first in Washington by a vigorous fight for the Labor Disputes Act, the Black-Connerly 30-Hour Week Act and the social security bills; second, by organizing emergency state committees to advance uniform state laws to conform to the national program. "The country is ripe for great and important social changes," said Waldman.

Senator Borah's defense of the Supreme Court's decision and his challenge that an amendment to the Constitution giving the Federal Government power over the economic life of the nation will be made a political issue should be answered by a fight for such an amendment, Waldman declared. He pointed out that the court itself through interpretation amends and changes the Constitution and that with reference to grave economic conditions even Chief Justice Hughes in the Minnesota (Continued on Page Three)

Stunning Blow to Labor
The significance, the true meaning and the far-reaching effect of the decision of the Supreme Court in holding the National Recovery Act invalid is now becoming clear and more definitely understood, he said. In the light of all that has taken place, the decision of the court must be interpreted as a severe and stunning blow to economic advancement and social (Continued on Page Four)

John W. Slayton Passes Away; Was Veteran Socialist Fighter

(Special to The New Leader)
PITTSBURGH, Pa.—Another link with the pioneering days of Socialism was broken with the death Wednesday of John W. Slayton, Socialist workman, trade unionist and gallant soldier in the army of human emancipation. Comrade Slayton, who was 73, had long been in poor health, and news of his death which caused deep sorrow, nevertheless was not a surprise.

The funeral will be held Sunday, June 9th, at Bienbauer's Mortuary Chapel, 2630 West Liberty Ave., South Hills, Pittsburgh. Dr. Geo. W. Hartmann, Professor at State College and an active Socialist propagandist, and William Adams of Pittsburgh will speak for the Socialist Party.

John W. Slayton was born in 1863, and lived the life of a workman, earning his living as a carpenter. All his life he combined Socialist and trade union work, for to him they were but two branches of the same work; he was equally active in both sections of the movement. He served as a delegate to four conventions of the A. F. of L., as well as to many Socialist conventions. In 1909, he addressed the famous meeting of 3,000 pressed steel workers at McKees Rocks during the course of that bitter strike that made labor history in those remote days. He was very

much in demand as a speaker in all labor struggles. He also served as business agent of the building trades unions at New Castle, Pa.

Comrade Slayton came to New Castle in 1900, and immediately became active as a Socialist there. In 1905, he managed the campaign that resulted in electing Walter Tyler mayor and making that the first Socialist municipality in Pennsylvania. He himself was elected councilman. Following his service, there he moved to McKeesport, continuing his notable activities. He was in great demand as a party speaker and debater, touring the entire country twice and speaking in 46 states. He also defended Socialism in 132 debates. In recent years he lamented the fact that his failing health made it impossible to continue his party activity.

Slayton was also famous as a Socialist writer, his popular pamphlets having been "The Old Red Flag," parts of which were printed in the May Day issue of The New Leader this year, "The Constitution a Class Document," "Crime and Criminals" and "Props of Capitalism."

Survived by a widow and four daughters and a son, his daughter said at his death, "My father lived the sort of life he wished to lead and it was not a selfish life. The old-timers who built the Socialist movement are quickly passing, but their work endures."

Toledo Power Strike Is Halted As Company Agrees to Parley

TOLEDO.—A strike of electricians and office workers of the Toledo Edison Company, covering an area housing 500,000 inhabitants in Northwestern Ohio and parts of Indiana and Michigan, begun Wednesday, forced a shutdown of the largest industries in the area and crippled many other enterprises.

The walkout, which lasted 24 hours, ordered by the Toledo local of the International Brotherhood of Electrical Workers to enforce demands for union recognition, wage increases and reduction of hours, was called off upon intervention of federal conciliation authorities, and expression of readiness by the company to negotiate with the union.

The negotiations will be conducted with the New York Edison Company, parent body of the Toledo company.

On Thursday, representatives of the union and the Toledo Edison were on their way to New York to begin negotiations.

The strike was one of the most effective ever pulled in this region and threatened to paralyze all industry and darken thousands of homes.

The Brotherhood of Electrical

Spain's Socialists Rise in Their Might Despite the Terror

An amazing demonstration of the strength of the Socialist and labor movement in Spain, despite the savage repression since the unsuccessful revolt last October, was given last week at a mighty demonstration in Valencia.

More than 100,000 workers poured into that city to hear a fighting speech by Ex-premier Manuel Azana, just released from jail. The meeting was a crushing blow to the hopes of the reactionaries who hoped that Socialism and the labor movement were completely destroyed following the failure of the October uprising.

At the same time there is rejoicing in Spain over the reopening of the offices of the General Union of Workers, following the remarkable May Day demonstrations in every part of Spain.

Good News for the Relief Workers; Standard Oil of N. J. Makes Millions

WHILE the Roosevelt administration is perfecting plans for the employment of about three million workers and professionals at wages of \$19 to \$95 a month, Standard Oil is reporting to its stockholders that everything is quite all right.

Walter C. Teague, president of Standard Oil of New Jersey, reports that earnings this year are continuing on about the 1934 level, when there was a net income of \$45,618,960. Thus far in 1935 earnings have been on the basis of about \$3,000,000 a month with the best months ahead.

Meanwhile, Consolidated Oil, the Sinclair outfit, feels that conditions warrant the issue of \$100,000,000 worth of bonds; Mr. Harry F. Sinclair (you will recall the patriot of the Teapot Dome days) announces that despite the NRA decision his company will do everything possible to avoid a "price war." That is great news to automobile owners who just date on paying 19 cents a gallon for gas and who shuddered at the prospect

of a "war" that would cut the price to 10 cents. Wall Street reports a steady "advance in public utility stocks, particularly the preferred issues. . . It included electric, gas, water, transit and telephone issues. Some of the lower priced bonds also shared in the buoyancy. The higher-priced bonds in many instances are so high that further advances are not to be expected."

Wall Street also notes with satisfaction "the improved tone of the security markets." During the month of May the market value of shares listed on the stock exchange reached a total of \$34,548,762,904, a gain of \$1,100,414,467 over April. The bond market is steady as activity gains; transactions totaled \$9,489,400 on Tuesday of this week as compared to \$6,692,300 Monday. And in the midst of these colossal financial transactions it is comforting to note that a New York boy who began at the bottom and worked his way up to a good job will not have to worry about his old age, for he has been retired

Organized Workingmen Are in Fighting Mood

McLevy Demands Special Session of Legislature

By Abraham Knepler
(Special to The New Leader)

HARTFORD.—With the Connecticut General Assembly adjourning this week, as required by law, the important problem of state aid to municipalities for relief remains unsolved. As this is being written, the legislature in feverish haste is attempting to reintroduce the sales tax bill in the lower house with the hope of passing it by exempting bread, fluid milk, raw meat, vegetables, fish and fruit.

Meanwhile, Mayor Jasper McLevy of Bridgeport has written to Governor Cross demanding that he call a special session of the legislature immediately following adjournment of the regular session, to deal with the problem of relief. In protest against the failure to enact relief legislation thus far the three Bridgeport Socialist senators last week walked out in disgust as the Senate proceeded to act upon judgeship appointments for the minor courts of the state. A deal had finally been agreed upon by the Democrats and Republicans last week for sharing the judgeship appointments, thereby overcoming the blocking power of the three Socialists, who insisted that relief measures be considered first.

Socialist senators also registered opposition to the appointment of former U. S. Senator Frederic C. Walcott, Republican, as head of the State Department of Public Welfare, but their fight against his appointment failed when several Democrats switched their votes in order to save the presiding officer, Lt. Governor Frank Hayes, Democrat, from the "embarrassment" of having to break a tie either in favor or against Walcott, who had been nominated for the position by Governor Cross. While the Democrats who opposed Walcott did so for patronage reasons, the Socialists opposed him because of his anti-labor record in the U. S. Senate. Walcott's department will have charge of the administration of the old age pension act passed by the legislature in this session.

Two important Bridgeport measures were passed by the legislature in the last week of its session. The civil service bill setting up a merit system of employment for all employees (with the excep-

tion of elected officials and the teaching system), and granting them security of tenure (teachers will also have tenure under the act), will mean an end to the spoils system and the intimidation of municipal employees by unscrupulous politicians. The other bill repeals the drastic "ripper" powers by which the Board of Apportionment and Taxation had gained exclusive control of the city's financial authority, with the power of paralyzing the administration's program at any time. Mayor McLevy will now be able to name three new members of the tax board, which has a total membership of seven.

PHILADELPHIA UNIONS PREPARE FOR BATTLE

PHILADELPHIA, Pa. — Organized labor prepared itself on June 2nd for a wave of strikes against wage cutting and extension of hours on the heels of the Supreme Court NRA decision.

Representatives of 400 local unions, meeting in the Amalgamated Center, 22nd and South Sts., at the call of the Central Labor Union, approved a "militant course of action" and set out to create a strike fund to finance the anticipated walkouts.

11-Point Program

A strategy committee was appointed by Lewis G. Hines, Philadelphia representative of the American Federation of Labor, who presided at the meeting, headed by Adolph Hirschberg, president of the Central Labor Union; Charles Weinstein, Philadelphia manager of the Amalgamated Clothing Workers of America; and Elias Reisberg, manager of the International Ladies' Garment Workers' Union. Also included in the committee were M. Herbert Syme, Socialist and labor attorney; Jos. E. Cohen; David Braginsky, chairman of the Socialist Party's Labor Committee and secretary of the United Hebrew Trades; and Abe Belsky, Socialist Party organizer.

The assemblage also unanimously approved an 11-point program which includes enactment of the 30-hour week bill, the Labor Disputes Act, and amendments to federal and state Constitutions "to allow the widest latitude possible in enactment of social legislation."

Frank P. McGlone, organizer of the Brotherhood of Transportation Workers, endorsing the prevailing sentiment that labor must immediately take a militant stand, declared his union now has two strikes on its hands "and a half dozen more pending."

Lawyers Available

A legal committee, which will be available at all times during the expected strike wave, was appointed.

John A. Phillips, president of the Pennsylvania Federation of Labor, declared that cooperation of all labor groups is an urgent necessity, asserting that "NRA is over and labor has come to the realization that nothing can be done for labor but what labor is able to do for itself."

Garment Workers Are Called to Action by I. L. G. W. U.

(Continued from Page One)

ed, and that recent developments provide the "strongest argument for independent political action by labor."

This manifesto, one of the most stirring documents ever issued by a trade union in this country, here-with follows:

The Manifesto

Sisters and Brothers:

A grave situation has arisen in the national life of America. Quite unexpectedly, the United States Supreme Court, with one blow, has destroyed the entire NRA structure and has endangered the labor gains achieved under it over a period of two years.

The decision of the Supreme Court has been greeted with joy and acclaim by every enemy of the workers, by every chisel of labor and by every reactionary group, while it has deeply shocked organized labor and all forces of progress in our country.

The decision of the Supreme Court in nullifying the NRA, we admit, is a defeat for the American working people. Whatever our opinions as trade unionists may have been regarding the defects of the NRA, we never failed to recognize that through the National Recovery Act for the first time in American industrial history, minimum wages and maximum hours for millions of unprotected workers were established and the abolition of child labor, for which the labor movement had been contending for years, became a fact.

The NRA also, especially during its early period, served as a powerful incentive for many trade unions to organize tens of thousands of unorganized workers and to strengthen their position and influence in their respective industries. Our own Union, we may point out, took advantage of the opportunity offered by NRA, at the right moment, and it increased its membership four-fold, reduced work hours in all our trades, increased wages and improved other work standards, thereby bringing hope for a fuller and better life to masses of workers who until then had been submerged by the shadows of darkness and despair.

Facing an Emergency

Sisters and Brothers! Together with all other labor organizations in America, we are facing today an emergency situation growing out of this frightful setback. It is difficult to say what the immediate developments will be. One thing is certain, nevertheless. The employers today are organized better than before. Within the past two years, they have formed powerful associations on a national scale and there is no doubt that if given an opportunity, they would destroy every safeguard and every advance made by labor. We must, therefore, deal with this situation as courageous, class-conscious, organized workers.

The Supreme Court, which places property above human interests, to whom the dry-as-dust terms of the constitution, written one hundred and fifty years ago, are more precious than the lives and the needs of millions of workers, could nullify the NRA, could declare it unconstitutional, but it cannot take away the economic power of the workers to organize, to strike and to protect through their organization work standards gained at the cost of untold sacrifice.

Furthermore, this development is the strongest argument for independent political action by labor. Had labor been represented in Congress by senators and congressmen designated and chosen by them, labor's voice would have been consulted in passing upon the nominees for the Supreme Court, which is vested with the power of approving or nullifying labor and social legislation.

Warning the Masters

Members of the I.L.G.W.U.! Despite adverse court decisions, our Union, as part of the American labor movement, will continue to fulfill its duty and to discharge its mission. The General Executive Board serves a warning on all employers in our history, who might be tempted to take advantage of the present confusion to reduce wage scales and to increase work hours, that our wage scales shall remain untampered with, that the 35-hour week is here to stay and that we shall press for even a shorter work-week in order to reduce unemployment, whether the codes continue or not.

To the employers in the cloak industry of New York, where we are on the eve of the expiration of agreements and where some employers are attempting to wrest from the workers fundamental safeguards and work standards, we declare with particular emphasis: Every attempt to revive the old system of chaos and confusion will fail. The organized workers in the cloak industry of New York are powerful enough to resist aggression and will protect their living and working conditions at all cost. —Sisters and Brothers! The General Executive Board, in session in Philadelphia, is calling upon you

to be ready for this emergency. We have issued orders to prepare a complete machinery for a strike in the New York cloak industry. At this hour, every man and woman belonging to our organization should be ready, through our united economic strength, to rally around the Union as never before for complete unionization, for the maintenance of all our gains and to continue fighting for additional improvements.

No Return of Sweatshop

The General Executive Board has issued a call to all our organizers throughout the country to be on guard to protect the interests of the workers and to meet with strikes every attempt that will be made either by individual employers or by groups of employers, to weaken our organization or to reduce our standards of life and labor.

Furthermore, the General Executive Board has decided to inaugurate additional campaigns throughout the country and to re-inforce our organizing staffs in all territories where employers will attempt to bring back sweatshop conditions which existed only a short while ago and where we succeeded in abolishing exploitation and in replacing it with humane work standards.

We pledge to you that we shall leave nothing undone at the present hour to maintain our established work standards in every market. Our Union was in a position to protect the interests of our workers before the NRA, and today, with our added strength, with our markets completely organized and our financial resources, our fighting morale on a higher plane than ever before, we are in a position to protect the interests of our

members wherever an attack upon them is made.

A Clarion Call!

And to unorganized workers engaged in our industry we wish to say the following:

You stayed away from labor organization, you had no use for the union because you were relying on the government only to furnish you a shorter work-week and better wages. By this time, however, you are no doubt convinced that the only dependable force that can protect your interests as workers is a labor union. We call upon you, therefore, to join the ranks of your fellow workers in one mighty union in defense of your working and living conditions.

Despite the distressful situation caused by the decision of the Supreme Court, let us take courage from the fact that we have a strong and united organization in our industry; that we have built up a fortress that no enemy can destroy. Whether the NRA will be brought back in a modified form or not, or whether any similar labor legislation will be enacted, the organized ladies' garment workers will resist with all their might the return of the sweatshop and the misery and degradation that go with it. Notwithstanding all the attacks of the chambers of commerce, of the manufacturers' associations and of their henchmen and supporters, we are determined that the old order shall not come back!

Long live the united power of the organized workers!
Forward to victory for a better day and a happier life!
Long live the labor movement!
Long live the International Ladies' Garment Workers' Union!
GENERAL EXECUTIVE BOARD:
David Dubinsky, President.

Amalgamated Is Ready

(Continued from Page One)

"I am happy that the decision was unanimous. I want labor to know that it cannot depend even on humanitarian liberals like Brandeis. It is a great shame that the man who presided over the protocols that were to abolish the sweatshop, when he puts on judicial robes, is one of those to help bring back the sweatshop. The Constitution that nine old gentlemen, not elected, responsible to no one, shall have this power, that is not democracy."

A Million Dollar Chest

General Secretary Schlossberg, in a graphic resume of the history of the Supreme Court, said that the time had come for the labor movement in this country "to declare itself its own Supreme Court, to say it is going to make its own decisions and carry them out." He pointed to the Taff-Vale decision in Great Britain 34 years ago, which, while it affected only one section of the working class, the railroad workers, was the immediate cause of the solidification of the organized labor forces which resulted in the creation of the Labor Party. Perhaps this decision will be the spur the workers of the country need for the formation of a labor party, Schlossberg added.

Louis Hollander, co-manager of the Joint Board, raised the cry for a million dollar war chest. "This is no time for phrases," declared Hollander. "This is a time for action and the first and most important action is raising a fund so that we may be prepared to fight on as many fronts as necessary." He assured the general officers that the New York organization would do its full share both financially and otherwise in the fight. "It is right that the New York organization should take the first action, and this action will echo and re-echo all over the country. One thing is certain," he continued, "we can have no going back. Our members are demanding better conditions. We cannot even imagine coming down. But to improve conditions we must mobilize our forces, we must call strikes and follow up with organizing work."

Alert for Action

Co-manager Joseph Catalanotti reminded the delegates that the benefits gained under the NRA were due to the militancy of the union. Abraham Miller, who presided, read the resolution previously passed by Locals 25 and 63, which was adopted by a unanimous rising vote, impressed upon the gathering that it had a great deal at stake. Not only the needle trades workers but the entire organized labor movement must be alert and ready for whatever may come.

The resolution calling for the creation of a million dollar fund was moved by Ralph DiMattia, chairman of the Joint Board, and seconded by B. Fleishfarb of Local 3 and L. LaCapria of Local 63. Rose Kapinas, representing the Passaic local and the only woman delegate to the Joint Board, said the Passaic workers who two and a half years ago were "farmers," knowing nothing of unionism, are standing by the parent organiza-

tion 100%. The Passaic membership held an overflow meeting the following evening which matched in enthusiasm and spirit the New York meeting. Meetings will be held in every Amalgamated centre to explain to the members what has happened and what may be expected and to map out plans for the future. The General President and other national officers will attend all of the meetings.

Milwaukee Unions Honor Dan Hoan at Big Banquet

MILWAUKEE, Wis.—More than 2,000 workers, representing every section of the labor movement, joined in a remarkable testimonial to Mayor Daniel W. Hoan to commemorate his 25 years of consecutive service as a public official, at a dinner in the Eagles' Club, the largest dining hall in the city.

The dinner was held under the auspices of the Federated Trades Council and was a tribute to the Socialist official who has never lost his intimate contact with and deep concern for the class in which he was born and to which he has dedicated his life.

The Mayor was presented with an illuminated testimonial, beautifully framed, reading as follows:

"In commemoration of the completion of 25 years of public service, of which six were served as City Attorney and 19 as Mayor of our city, the Milwaukee Federated Trades Council and its affiliated locals hereby add this testimonial to that of many other groups of citizens in recognition and appreciation of the sterling worth, personal character, unremitting industry, social vision, and common sense of Daniel Webster Hoan, Mayor of Milwaukee, who has chosen to dedicate his qualities of mind and character to the service of our city which he so ardently loves. Presented this 29th day of May, 1935."

The document was signed by Joseph Burns, Otto Jirikowicz, John W. Madden, Otto Mesenbrink, Arthur Olsen, Leo Rohrer, Ben Rubin, James P. Sheehan, Marshall Whaling, Anton Volk, Emil Brode, Frank Weitzke, J. F. Friedrick and Herman Seide.

Jac. F. Friedrick, organizer of the Federated Trades Council, in presenting Mayor Hoan with the testimonial, said: "The greatest tribute we can pay is to say that he is still one of the boys in the ranks of the workers, not only Mayor of our city, but our good friend, our brother and comrade, Dan."

City Is the Gainer

"Because of his work and his faithful service, the city of Milwaukee is enjoying nation-wide recognition as the best organized city in America. The labor organizations have attained a position in this city reached by few other labor groups."

"The work of Mayor Hoan is appreciated by workers all over

the world, wherever they have heard of our splendid city government. Less fortunate workers in other cities probably appreciate our Mayor even more than we do."

Mayor Hoan was accorded a long ovation when the gift of the labor unions was turned over to him. In accepting the token, the Mayor told the workers that he was "happy that I have the confidence of the organized workers in this city."

"There is no other city in which the labor movement is conducted better than it is in the city of Milwaukee," the Mayor said. "The conduct of our strikes is an outstanding example of the excellent manner in which labor has carried itself in our city."

Mayor Hoan reiterated the promise he made on the night of his first election 25 years ago in April.

"We had a celebration that night in Freie Gemeinde Hall," the Mayor said. "We were naturally all happy and elated over the victory that labor gained in the election. Emil Seidel had been elected mayor and I city attorney."

"I told the workers at that time that I would never get a swelled head and I would never prove false to the workers. That has been my aim, and I hope I have lived up to it."

Frank J. Weber, 85-year-old Nestor of the Milwaukee labor movement, former Socialist Assemblyman and former secretary of the State Federation of Labor, was honored at the Hoan dinner by being the only non-official to be asked to sign the testimonial.

Mrs. Hoan was presented with a floor lamp by the city employees.

When Doctors Disagree

THE economic doctors are divided into two schools. One group takes the position that we need more plain living and high thinking, the other that there should be less eating and less thinking. The latter position seems to have the most followers. Bebee.

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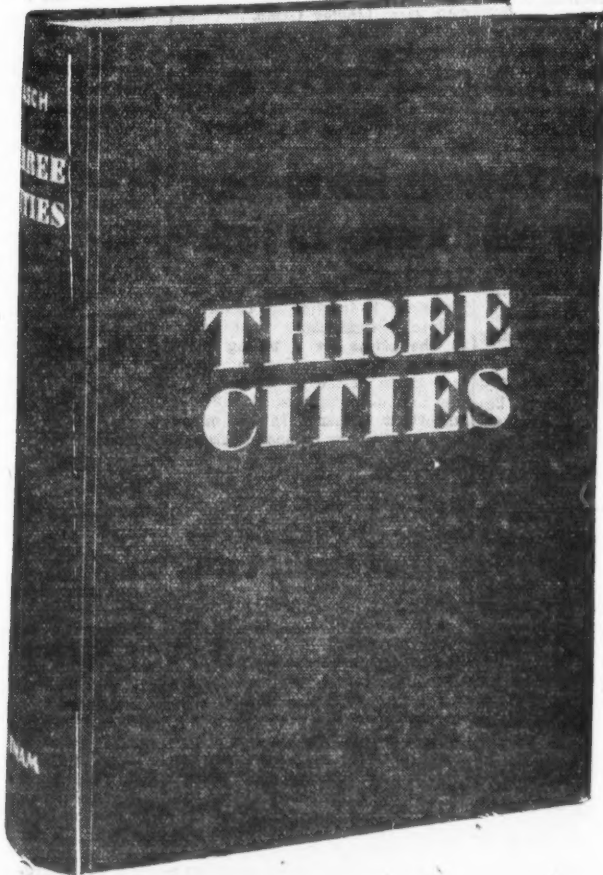
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Socialist Party Points Way to Federal Amendment

Plans Are Booming for Big Party Picnic July 27

By Eli A. Kahn

THE unconstitutionality (75 cent word) of the NIRA will not prevent the Socialist Party and the labor and fraternal organizations from holding their regular annual picnic, according to word received from Washington this week.

Now that we feel safe, at least temporarily, the committee promises to give double decker ice cream comes to kiddies and grown-ups for the price of a nickel. The committee will be in a position to do this since all the department stores are cutting the price of cartons of cigarettes. The committee will go one better and promises to provide larger beer glasses overflowing with a cold foamy beer. All prices will be reasonable to meet the pockets of every worker who will be the guest of the picnic at Ulmer Park, Brooklyn, on July 27.

So far many branches of the Workmen's Circle, trade union organizations and Socialist Party branches have responded to the call to participate in the great picnic.

This occasion is always a holiday

of the entire Workmen's Circle in New York when all of its members get together for an enjoyable day in the outdoors at a time when most branch activities are slowed up and branch meetings are poorly attended due to the summer weather. Many branches utilize this opportunity to realize a fairly substantial profit for their relief or loan funds, or to take care of some special relief cases of members who need assistance.

The committee is at present arranging an elaborate and colorful program and promises to provide an interesting and amusing day with features to interest the young as well as the older folks. There will be sports, dancing to an unusually fine orchestra, entertainment by prominent stars of both the English and Yiddish stage as well as radio and opera stars, and a fine movie show in the evening.

Tickets may be secured at very low prices for organizations, printed in their own names. Your organization can apply for tickets or further information in Room 408, 7 East 15th Street, or call Algonquin 4-2620.

To Avoid Pitfall of Ban by U. S. Supreme Court

(Continued from Page One)

Mortgage Moratorium case last year declared that "It is no answer to say that this public need was not apprehended a century ago, or to insist that what the provision of the Constitution meant to the vision of that day it must mean to the vision of our time."

The broad construction of the Moratorium case last year is, replaced by a narrow construction in the case of the NRA. Waldman continued:

The Crisis Before Us

"In this crisis the great question before the American people is whether they must wait supinely for the nine men on the Supreme Court bench to amend the Constitution by interpretation or whether the people, in their sovereign capacity, in accordance with the express terms of the Constitution, may adopt such amendments as will confer upon the government necessary powers for the social control of the nation's economic life."

"Democracy in the United States will survive as a working governmental institution only by assuming constant and intelligent guidance of the social and economic affairs of the nation. Democracy is capable of solving the social problems that confront us by the application of known laws of social development to social institutions. It ascertains social tendencies and fashions political instruments to conform to these social trends and changes."

"The disparity between our industrial and our present political institutions is registered in the present social chaos, creating the anomaly of a society where industrially we are capable of producing plenty for all but socially we find ourselves without the intelligence of distributing and controlling the wealth we have created."

"We are in the ludicrous and tragic position of curtailing production on farm, in mine and in factory, of seriously discussing the limiting of inventions, and of creating artificial scarcity while millions of men and women capable and willing to work are idle, and millions of men, women and children are inadequately housed, poorly clad, ill fed and deprived of cultural and educational opportunities."

"The operation of unjust economic forces can impair and undermine liberty and property, the staples of the American constitutional system, as effectively as can government interference. To the millions of unemployed and their families, the Constitution today does not guarantee the rights of liberty and property."

Fiction and Subterfuge

"Today, economic planning and social control on a national scale to meet the needs and exigencies of our time can only be undertaken through legal fictions and constitutional subterfuge."

"For example, the T.V.A. experiment, a federal project designed to get up a public yardstick for the sale of electricity by exploiting the water power on the Tennessee River is carried on under the incidental power of the federal government to improve navigation and regulate flood control."

"The Social Security bill has been formulated to rest on the taxing power of the federal government, instead of by planning a direct system of federal social insurance."

"The NRA was framed under the interstate commerce clause. How inadequate this legal fiction proved to accomplish the end sought has been demonstrated altogether too forcefully by the recent NRA decision."

"A frontal attack upon the forces of depression and on the vast private economic institutions exploiting the masses of our population, cannot be made unless the Constitution is amended. To give to the federal government direct power to control, on a nation-wide basis, the economic life of the country, I have prepared a constitutional amendment which I submit for public consideration. It reads as follows:

A Constitutional Amendment

"Section 1. Congress shall have the power to regulate, limit and prohibit the labor of persons under 18 years of age, to regulate hours and conditions of labor and to establish minimum wages in any employment, to regulate production, industry, business, trade and commerce, to provide for the relief of aged, invalid, sick and unemployed persons, in the form of periodical grants, pensions, benefits, compensation, or indemnities from the public treasury, through contributions by employers, wage earners, or from one or more such sources, and generally for the economic and social welfare of the workers of the United States."

"Section 2. Congress shall have the further power to establish laws for the ownership, operation and management through agencies and instrumentalities of the United States, business, manufacture, industry, commerce and banking and shall have the power to raise monies through taxation for the acquiring and carrying on of such enterprises."

"Section 3. Nothing contained in the Fifth and Fourteenth Articles of Amendment to this Constitution shall be construed to impose any limitations upon the legislative power of Congress or of the several states with respect to any of the subjects referred to in this Article."

"Section 4. Nothing in this Article shall be construed to impair the power of the several states with respect to any of the subjects referred to in Sections 1 and 2, except to the extent that the exercise of such power by a state is in conflict with legislation enacted by Congress pursuant to this Article."

Five Essentials

"1. It confers power to regulate production, industry, trade and commerce."

"2. It confers power to regulate, limit or prohibit child labor."

"3. It confers power to regulate hours and conditions of labor and to establish minimum wages throughout the country."

"4. It grants power to establish a federal system of social insurance and other social welfare legislation."

"5. It grants power to the government through its own agencies and instrumentalities to own, operate and manage business, manufacture, industry, commerce and banking."

"The adoption of this constitutional amendment leaves it up to the American people to decide what social and economic policy they desire their government to follow. This amendment does not require Congress to do anything. It simply gives them the power to do it. A Congress elected on the issue of public ownership or public regulation would not have to obtain the services of eminent legal counsel on how to circumvent the Constitution. It would restore honesty under the Constitution, and the technique of government would be simplified. The federal government would be enabled to do directly what it now frequently seeks to do indirectly."

"One of the great attributes of the law guaranteeing human freedom is certainly and predictability. Today, social and economic legislation is productive of the greatest uncertainty. Even the NRA was enforced for almost two years before the Supreme Court declared it unconstitutional. During these two years there was evasion, dodging, lack of compliance, and lack of enforcement. In many cases the government itself was the greatest evader. It took law violations lying down because it did not desire to force the issue."

"Under the proposed amendment state rights would be preserved inviolate. The state rights' issue is not real in the light of our industrial developments. Time does not permit to present detailed evidence which exists in abundance to show how completely interdependent we have become. We are no longer a mere federation of 48 states. We are a great nation with vast economic and commercial arteries crossing state boundary lines and affecting simultaneously the people of the whole country. In matters purely local in nature, the rights and the power of the state would continue as heretofore."

"One final word: A careful reading of history reveals that constitutions do not make economic institutions and social relationships, but economic institutions and social relationships make constitutions. The American Constitution has grown in the past to accommodate itself to our changing economic and social life, reflecting, in the final analysis, the prevailing public point of view; it will continue to do so in the future. Its direction will inevitably take the form of the popular will. If the American people want to control the economic forces of the country so as to make them serve the general welfare, the Constitution will not stand in its way. They will adopt an appropriate amendment."

To Members and Organizers

The leaflet "Housewives! Are You Worried?" is hot off the press. It is a leaflet on the high cost of living. It makes a simple and direct appeal to the housewife, is informative and contrasts the government and Socialist programs on this most pressing problem of the day, as any woman can understand. The cost per thousand is \$2. When ordering or calling for the leaflets, payment must be made.

Are you arranging street meetings? The Women's Units in your district offer to cooperate with you. Call on them!

All petitions on the High Cost of Living should be earnestly attended to and comrades should have them filled with signatures and sent in to the Party Office, 7 East 15th St., New York City.

Corset and Brassiere Union Is Growing Rapidly

THE activities of the Corset and Brassiere Workers' Union, Local 32, of the International Ladies' Garment Workers' Union, have increased to such a great extent that it was forced to move from its one-room office at 3 West 16th St. to its present large and airy headquarters at 96 Fifth Ave., New York City.

Local 32 is young in years, having been organized in October, 1933, when the code for the corset and brassiere industry was being formulated at Washington under the late lamented NIRA. Prior to that time there had been no union to which the workers in that industry could belong. Most of the shops in which workers were employed were controlled by company unions. It took a great deal of time for union leaders of the International to organize that industry, where hours of labor and wages were at the mercy of the employers. The reasons for the delay in organizing the workers is given by Abraham Snyder, business manager, as follows:

"We were confronted with company unions, which largely dominated the workers in the industry,"

Snyder said. "Besides, the workers had a feeling that since the code for the industry was brought about by the code authority, the workers were protected by the government. No sooner had the employers begun chiseling on their minimum wages and hours of labor than they began to realize that a union was necessary."

The code for the corset and brassiere industry provided for a minimum wage of \$14 per week with a 40-hour work-week with no special classifications. The union then established definite labor conditions in practically all the shops, such as 37 1/2 hours per week, 4 1/2 legal holidays per year with pay, time and one-half for overtime above the 37 1/2 hours. The union was also able to force an increase in wages for certain classes of operators to 57 1/2 and 60 cents per hour.

The offices of the union consists of seven large rooms, which are used for offices, and a large auditorium with a seating capacity of 400. Large mass meetings and shop chairmen meetings are held in the auditorium, which is nicely decorated with pictures and large banners.

Gorman Orders Strike To Stop Wage Cuts

(Continued from Page One)

women and under-nourished children to fourteen hours a day for no more wages than will keep soul and body in speaking distance."

"The governor of Georgia must have some of these 'greasy little human buzzards' in his state and he seems determined that the troops shall compel the intended victims to submit."

"The Georgia troops are using United States government equipment and we demand that War Department recall that equipment forthwith. If the troops are left in their camp, bereft of their guns and without their uniforms, perhaps the governor will let them go home and again play the part of decent citizens."

Demand Workers Return Wages!

"We have reports of wage cuts. Piedmont Mills, Atlanta, under the governor's guns, have raised hours to 54—the pre-code standard—and have given no compensating wage raise. Atlantic Cotton Mills, Macon, also under the governor's guns, have raised hours to 55 and have had the unutterable and indescribable inhumanity to demand that the workers pay back \$4,000 of wages awarded to them by the Compliance Board. The Hupp overall plant at Atlanta has done the same thing, telling the workers \$1 would be taken from their pay each week until the wages are paid back to the company. I wonder what will be the result where workers earn only two or three dollars a week. Harmony Mills, at Commerce, Ga., have increased hours and cut pay."

"I wonder sometimes what nation Georgia's governor and her mill owners think Georgia belongs to."

"Our orders to all unions are: Strike the minute wages are cut or hours lengthened. Those orders stand. Four mills have been struck. The mills and the public can be sure that wherever there is a union there will be a strike if and when wages are cut or hours lengthened. We are not going to be driven backward—not one step."

Strike!

"We urge workers to combine with other workers in other trades in their communities. We urge our unions to get into immediate working alliance with other unions, so that there can be community or state-wide joint action."

"For those leaders in the industry who are trying to restrain their 'buzzards' the whole industry should have some respect. So far they have held their own lines fairly well in much of the territory. We offer them our co-operation. Their stand against wage cuts and against restoring the old and savage hours is the same as ours. For once they support the union position, holding it to be sound. Anything else is ruinous to everyone. We are trying to hold the line against the tooth and claw idea of business and we shall hold that line."

"I hope all unions will at once report 'buzzards' to me. I also hope that every union will write or wire the President the same facts and that they will let the President know where they stand on NRA. We cannot and will not see all progress wrecked by what has happened since a week ago Monday."



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LADIES' GARMENT WORKERS' UNION, 3 West 18th Street, New York City. Phone, CHelsea 3-2148. David Dubinsky, President.

THE AMALGAMATED LADIES' GARMENT CUTTERS' UNION, Local No. 10, L.L.G.W.U., Office, 68 West 35th St.; Phone, WI, 7-8911. Executive Board meets every Thursday at the office of the Union, Joe Abramowitz, Pres.; Sigmund Perlmutter, Mgr.; Sec'y: Louis Stober, Asst. Mgr.; Maurice W. Jacobs, Sec'y to Exec. Board; Nathan Superstein, Chairman of Exec. Board.

MILLINERY WORKERS' UNION, Local 24, Cloth Hat, Cap and Millinery Workers International Union, Downtown office, 640 Broadway; phone, SP, 7-4548; uptown office, 30 W. 47th St.; phone, WI, 7-1270. Executive Board meets every Tuesday evening, 8 o'clock. Manager, N. Spector; Secretary, Treas., Alex. Rose; Organizers, I. H. Goldberg, A. Mendelowitz, M. Goodman, Lucy Oppenheim; Chairman of Executive Board, Morris Rosenblatt; Secretary of Executive Board, Saul Hodas.

CORSET AND BRASSIERE WORKERS' UNION, Local 32, International Ladies' Garment Workers' Union, 3 West 16th Street, New York City. Abraham Snyder, Manager.

AMALGAMATED CLOTHING WORKERS OF AMERICA, New York Joint Board, 31 West 15th St., New York, N. Y. Phone Tompkins Square 6-5400. L. Hollander, J. Catalano, Managers; Abraham Miller, Secretary-Treasurer.

FUR DRESSERS' UNION, Local 2, International Fur Workers' Union, Office and headquarters, 919 Wiloughby Ave., Brooklyn; STAG 2-6798. Reg. meetings, 1st and 3rd Mondays. President, Robert Glass; Vice-President, Stephen Tobasco; Business Agent, Morris Reiss; Secretary, Samuel Mindel; Treasurer, Albert Heib.

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NECKWEAR MAKERS' UNION, Local 11016, A. F. of L., 7 East 15th St., Phone, ALgonquin 4-7082. Joint Executive Board meets every Tuesday night at 7:30. Board meets every Tuesday night at 8:00 in the office. Ed Gottman, Secretary-Treasurer.

WAITERS' and WAITRESSES' UNION, Local No. 1, A. F. of L. and U.I.T., 230-7th Ave., W. Lehman, Sec'y. Tel.: LACKawanna 4-6483.

WHITE GOODS WORKERS' UNION, Local 62 of L.L.G.W.U., 475 Broadway, New York City. Telephone ALgonquin 4-7881. S. Shore, Manager.

NATIONAL MILLINERY CONGRESS PROPOSED BY ZARITSKY

A national millinery congress for the purpose of framing a plan for self-government for the industry was proposed this week by Max Zaritsky, president, cap and millinery department, United Hatters, Cap and Millinery Workers' International Union, to the various millinery manufacturers' associations throughout the country.

Pointing to the recurrence since the Supreme Court decision voiding the National Industrial Recovery Act of evils which he declared had brought the industry to the brink of destruction in the past, among them the pressure which large buyers have begun to exert to obtain larger discounts than were permitted under the millinery code, Mr. Zaritsky declared that a revival of any of these practices must be guarded against before they become sufficiently prevalent to influence the downward trend of the industry.

Whatever labor has gained through the establishment of a 35-hour week for the industry, and a minimum classified wage which has been beneficial mainly to the unorganized workers in the industry, labor will fight to retain at all costs, Mr. Zaritsky informed the manufacturers' associations. The warning was directed mainly to the manufacturers in the few organized markets where it has been reported some manufacturers were planning to reinstate the 40-hour week.

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The FSI worker delegation which includes 6 Socialist Party members and 6 members of the A. F. of L. are now traveling throughout the Soviet Union, visiting factories, trade unions, homes, collective farms, schools, etc.

No one can afford to miss this great occasion where 12 American workers duly elected by Soc. Party locals and A. F. of L. trade unions will give their official report of what actually is happening in the first Socialist Republic.

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Shiplacoff Memorial Dedicated Sunday

A monument over the grave of the late A. I. Shiplacoff, who died last year, will be dedicated next Sunday with a ceremony, participated in by the many labor and Socialist organizations with which he was intimately associated during his long and useful life.

The dedication will begin promptly at noon at the Mount Carmel Cemetery, where Shiplacoff is buried with many other notable figures in the Socialist and labor movement, and there will be brief speeches by representatives of various labor and Socialist organizations.

The monument was erected by the United Hebrew Trades, the Workmen's Circle and many other organizations, and it is a slight token of the deep respect and affection in which the late comrade was held.

Abr. I. Shiplacoff, trade union leader and Socialist fighter, died in February, 1934, at the age of 56, after a long and agonizing illness. He had been a teacher, Socialist agitator, trade union leader and Socialist legislator and official. During his lifetime he served three years in the New York assembly, two years as an alderman, as manager of the New York Joint Board of the Amalgamated Clothing Workers, and in the Pocketbook Workers' Union. In addition, he was executive secretary of Local New York of the Socialist Party, member of the National Executive Committee, member of the staff of

Solomon at 11th A. D., Brooklyn

The enrolled voters of the 11th A. D., Brooklyn, are invited to a meeting in Foresters Hall, 295 Gates Avenue, near Franklin Ave., on Monday, June 10th, at 9 p. m. Charles Solomon will speak on "A Socialist Looks Upon the Current Scene."

400,000 Miners Will Strike

(Continued from Page One) for the exercise of good judgement, moral courage and loyalty by every member of the United Mine Workers of America. Orderly procedure must be followed at all times. There must be no violation of law nor disturbance of the public peace."

In addition to Lewis, the strike call was signed by Vice-President Philip Murray and Secretary-Treasurer Thomas Kennedy of the United Mine Workers.

President Lewis said that enactment of the Guffey coal regulations bill would stop the strike. The miners and the American Federation of Labor have been pushing the bill vigorously.

the Jewish Daily Forward, and one of the best-loved Socialists the party has ever known.

A motorcade of cars will leave the Forward Building, 175 Broadway, at 11 a. m. sharp, on Sunday, and the ceremonies will begin at 12 noon sharp.

The Cypress Hills car at the end

\$1,100 Raised at Seger Farewell Dinner

Following a stirring appearance by toastmaster B. C. Viadeck, more than \$1,100 was raised as a contribution to the war chest of the German Social Democracy for its underground war upon Hitlerism at the farewell dinner to Gerhart Seger Monday night at Rosoff's restaurant in West 43rd St., New York City.

The dinner was, in effect, the last rally in the nation-wide antifascist campaign undertaken by Comrade Seger since his arrival here last October. The heroic German Socialist, former deputy from Anhalt who escaped from the Hitler concentration camp at Oranienburg, covered the country from coast to coast under Socialist and trade union auspices and created a profound impression with his eloquent story of the sufferings of the tortured German people.

In addition to Viadeck and Seger the speakers included David Dubinsky, President of the I.L.G.W.U.; Abe Miller of the Amalgamated; Norman Thomas, Louis Waldman, N. Chanin, and others.

All of the speakers expressed gratification that the American movement would have the opportunity of having Comrade Seger here next year.

More than 150 guests attended of the Myrtle Avenue line of the B.M.T. takes passengers directly to the gates of the cemetery. Shiplacoff's grave is in the Workmen's Circle plot.

Up the Lordly Hudson to the Good Ship "Buccaneer"

The Week on the Stage

By Joseph T. Shipley

BOBBY SANFORD'S CREW

"SHOW-BOT REVUE," Summer Specialties. Aboard the "Buccaneer."

There's always a breeze on the Hudson. And, a few pleasant miles up, an hour and a half's evening ride away, Bobby Sanford has set a breezy show. One is tempted to write more lengthily about the journey up and back; there's a delectable dinner aboard for those that wish to eat, with dancing and drinks en route. This brings us to the anchored show-boat, waiting there beyond Yonkers, the good ship "Buccaneer."

This year's revue gets off to what sailors might call a spanking start. Murray Parker, master of ceremonies, has not only a lively sense of humor, but a way of using his face and hands that commands laughter. There's not much high-brow in this humor, but the belly ripples enough to digest that meal. And the show girls are as comely a lot as one would like to meet; what with their "Valse a L'Eventail"—French for fan dance—and their other swift gyrations, they decorate the evening. The three Dodge brothers—"artful dodgers" even when they're hit—have a skit called "We're Pals, Ain't We?" Jack and June Blair do a "Palsy-Walsy" number, and the whole evening has a friendly feeling that makes you want to repeat. Then there's the trip back, with dancing under the stars. And if you're lucky, you may get a dance with a star!

"Public Hero No. 1" Capitol Screen Attraction—Stage Offers Sophie Tucker

"Public Hero No. 1," Metro-Goldwyn-Mayer's new thriller, featuring Lionel Barrymore, Jean Arthur, Chester Morris, Joseph Calleia, Paul Kelly and Lewis Stone, is now on the Capitol Theatre's screen.

Supplementing the screen feature for the week will be the international star of stage and radio fame, Sophie Tucker, with Ted Shapero at the piano. Sophie will present her "WHN Music Hall Revue" featuring the lovable lunatics, the Ritz Brothers, and the silver-voiced tenor Donald Novis. The assisting artists include Rouletta, a comedienne; the Eight Serenaders, a male ensemble, and a group of the Danny Dare Girls.

On Palace and Albee Screens



Elisabeth Bergner, as she appears in the film version of the successful stage play, "Escape Me Never"

"Oil for the Lamps of China" at the Strand

"Oil for the Lamps of China," a First National release with Pat O'Brien, Josephine Hutchinson and Jean Muir in the starring roles, is currently at the Strand Theatre. The film was produced as a "special" under the direction of Mervyn LeRoy and was in active production before the cameras for a period of three months. Before the story sequences were filmed in Hollywood, a First National camera crew spent three months in China in filming actual locales.

The supporting cast, which includes twenty-six Chinese "bit" players and five hundred Chinese extras, features Lyle Talbot, John Eldredge, Ronnie Cosby, Arthur Byron, Willie Fung, Tetsu Komai, Donald Crisp, Edward McWade, Henry O'Neill, John Hyams, Olive Jones, Christian Rub, Geo. Meeker and Florence Fair.

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GAE POSTER GIRLS
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BABE BARRI DANCERS
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Stage Show at 1:22, 4:06, 7:09, 9:17
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Richard Arlen - Virginia Bruce
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Doors open 9:30 A. M.

ON THE STAGE—IN PERSON
SOPHIE TUCKER
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Merry, Mad Hilarities! Radio's Golden Voiced Tenor
8 SERENADERS • ROULETTA • 32 DANNY DARE GIRLS

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"OIL for the LAMPS OF CHINA"
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A Cosmopolitan Production • **STRAND—25c**
A First National Picture B'way & 47th St. to 1 P. M. weekdays
Midnite Shows

ALL THIS WEEK
Elisabeth Bergner in
"Escape Me Never"
EXTRA FILM ATTRACTION

"The Last Wilderness"
Hunting Big Game in the American Jungle
ALBEE Albee Square BROOKLYN

Claude Rains in "The Clairvoyant" on Roxy Screen—Eton Boys Top Stage Show

The screen at the Roxy Theatre this week is given over to "The Clairvoyant," and its star is Claude Rains, who made cinema history with his characterizations in "The Invisible Man," "The Mystery of Edwin Drood," "The Man Who Reclaimed His Head," and "Crime Without Passion." Supplementing this feature film the Roxy is presenting on its stage a gala new variety revue which stars the Eton Boys, well-known entertainers of stage, screen and radio.

In addition to this foursome, the bill also includes the Neiss Troupe, acrobats; Dawn and Darrow, dancers; Joaquin Garay, a young singer who is being held over for a second week by popular demand, and the winner of the Fred Allen Amateur Contest, Freddy Mack continues as master of ceremonies and conductor of the orchestra, and the Gae Foster Girls appear in new and elaborate ballets.

Elisabeth Bergner in "Escape Me Never" in Brooklyn Film Premiere at Albee

"Escape Me Never," the latest starring vehicle of Elisabeth Bergner, the internationally acclaimed actress last seen by American screen audiences in "Catherine the Great," is now at the RKO Albee Theatre.

Miss Bergner recently enjoyed success on both the New York and London stages in the Margaret Kennedy play from which her current screen hit is adapted and many of the principals of the stage cast, including Hugh Sinclair, Griffith Jones and Leon Quartermaine, are seen in their original roles in this filmization. Others prominent in the cast are Irene Vanbrugh, Penelope Dudley-Ward, Lyn Harding and Rosalinde Fuller.

"Escape Me Never" was directed by Dr. Paul Czinner, Miss Bergner's director-husband. It is released by United Artists. Many of the scenes in the picture were filmed in the Italian Dolomites, and other scenes at the Drury Lane Theatre in London.

In the Theatre Guild's Satirical Revue



Above you see none other than Jimmy Savo, the chief comic in the Guild's latest venture, "Parade," at the Guild Theatre

"G Men" at RKO Theatre

"G Men," the First National film about the activities of the United States Department of Justice's Bureau of Investigation, in which James Cagney heads the all-star cast, is currently over the RKO circuit.

Cagney's supporting cast in "G Men" is headed by Ann Dvorak, Margaret Lindsay and Robert Armstrong.

At Broadway Trans-Lux

Laurel and Hardy in the comedy "Live Ghosts," complete pictures of the Ross-McLarnin fight, a Betty Boop cartoon and one-half hour of newsreel news comprise the show at the Trans-Lux Theatre, Broadway and 49th Street, for the week beginning today.

Shirley Temple Film at the Music Hall

Shirley Temple's newest photoplay, "Our Little Girl," is at the Radio City Music Hall.

An Edward Butcher production for Fox Films, the film was directed by John Robertson. It was adapted from the story, "Heaven's Gate," by Florence L. Pfalzgraf.

Also on the Music Hall's program will be a new Walt Disney Silly Symphony, "Water Babies." The great stage will present a new and colorful spectacle, in which the Corps de Ballet, high-kicking Rockettes, Glee Club and Symphony Orchestra will take part.

"Loves of a Dictator" in Premiere at Fox Brooklyn

In "Loves of a Dictator," co-starring Clive Brook and Madeleine Carroll, now on the screen at the Fabian Fox Brooklyn Theatre, Miss Carroll is again seen under the direction of the distinguished director, Victor Saville.

It was Saville who brought Miss Carroll to the attention of the American movie audiences in the war drama, "Is Was a Spy," shown on the screen at the Fox recently.

The Fox Theatre stage show is headlined by Gus Van, and rounded out by the Twelve New Yorkers, in new dance routines.

Group Theatre presents Waiting for Lefty and Till the Day I Die

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LONGACRE THEATRE, West 44th St.
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THE GROUP THEATRE presents
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CEILING ZERO
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MUSIC BOX THEATRE, 45th Street, West of Broadway
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THEATRE OF ACTION (formerly Workers Laboratory Theatre) presents
THE YOUNG GO FIRST
A drama of the CCC camps
N.Y. SUN Says: "It is impossible not to be stirred by it"
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An exceedingly fine production... splendid
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Best Seats Thurs. Mat. \$2.20, Sat. Mat. \$2.75
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Gilbert Miller & Leslie Howard in association with Arthur Hopkins present
LESLIE HOWARD
THE PETRIFIED FOREST
by ROBERT SHERWOOD
"THE REIGNING DRAMATIC HIT"—New York Times
Theatre, W. 44th St. L.A.C. 4-1515. Eves., 8:45
Mats. Wednesday and Saturday, 2:45

"HILARIOUS"
Lockridge—Sun
GOOD BAL-CONY SEATS
50¢ \$1.00
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3 MEN ON A HORSE
"A Knockout"
Sobel—Mirror
PLAYHOUSE 48th St. E. of B'way
Eve. 8:45. Mats. Wed. & Sat. 2:45

Fabian's **FOX** B'KLYN
CLIVE BROOK - MADELEINE CARROLL
"LOVES OF A DICTATOR"
"★★★★"—Daily News
On Stage In Person
GUS VAN 25c
10:50 P. M. 10c
FLATBUSH at NEWING

Star of "The Petrified Forest"



Leslie Howard will continue in the R. E. Sherwood play for three more weeks, at which time the play will suspend for the summer, giving the cast a much needed rest.

RADIOLOGY "THE HOOK-UP."

By Jack Lait and Stephen Gross. At the Cort. The voice that comes out of the air has for so many centuries been considered divine that something of the awe still clings to it—no matter how awful some of it is. News that comes by radio is somehow more important; nonsense out of the ether is incomparably humorous (at least, I'm sure a great deal of it, set down and read or even heard on stage, would be deemed absolute trash); and material advertised over the radio must be the best. Ask any radio man, in an official moment.

A. J. Lamb, President of the Superchemical Corp., is hard to convince, however, that his Ponce de Leon Pills, for bringing youth back to aging men, require radio boosting—until he sees the sweet young girl who is to bring romance (over the air) back to the forty-year-olds who listen in, and take the pills. The building of Victor Vance, radio rut, into a nationwide hook-up celebrity as Honest Abe, rural lawyer who grows young on a diet of pills, provides a deal of entertainment—especially as the role is entrusted to Ernest Truex; but trouble piles over the comedy when the program must be brought to a climax with a real radio wedding between Honest Abe and Orphan Annie. For Honest Abe Vance is engaged to another; and Orphan Annie Bryce is a golden haired gold-digger, at the moment performing her mining operations on the magnate A. J. Lamb. (It's atrocious to use a created name for punning purposes, especially as a certain line anyone can make up a name that he can joke with!) And although all that notice it get a good laugh when the Bishop brings down the final curtain by coming back for his teeth, it is really Ernest Truex that puts the teeth in this comedy of the radio. The rip-roaring, devastating satire on the commercialized air-ways is still to come; in the meantime, without a searching or searing quality, there are many goods laughs in "The Hook-Up."

All copies of the book in the book stores and libraries of Austria have been confiscated and police officials while visiting the publishers warned them against any attempts to violate the government orders by procuring other copies. The suppression of "Kontinent in Gährung" concerns itself in no way with Austrian affairs, but deals solely with America and American conditions.

Dr. Julius Deutsch is one of the outstanding leaders of the Austrian Social Democracy. He directed the military action of the Republican Schutzbund Defense Corps against the attacking fascist and government forces and was severely wounded but succeeded in escaping to Czechoslovakia. Late in 1934 he visited the United States and delivered a series of lectures throughout the country.

The action taken by the Austro-Fascist government of Chancellor Schuschnigg is intended to hit back at a man who has been successful in acquainting the American public with fascist tyranny and fascist methods prevailing in Austria and other parts of Europe.

The need of the moment is to reconstruct and repair the damage which has been done as a result of the decision of the Supreme Court insofar as it is possible to do so. Labor will press for the enactment of the Wagner Disputes Bill, the Thirty-Hour Work-Week Bill, the Guffey Coal Bill and Social Security legislation; but the fundamental principle involved in the decision of the Supreme Court is a question which must be and will be considered not only by the American Federation of Labor but by the masses of the people generally. This involves the exercise of the power of the Supreme Court to declare laws enacted by Congress as unconstitutional.

BS&AU PROTESTS WAGES ON WORK RELIEF PROJECTS

The Bookkeepers', Stenographers' and Accountants' Union, Local 12646 of the A. F. of L., in a resolution unanimously passed and filed a strong protest against the wage scale announced by President Roosevelt for work relief projects, and pledged itself to a strenuous campaign for the upbuilding of the labor movement to fight the lowering of the standard of living threatened by the adoption of that scale.

The resolution, signed by Ernest Bohm, veteran president of the NRA, read in part:

"RESOLVED, That the Bookkeepers', Stenographers' and Accountants' Union 12646 solidarizes itself with all organized labor represented in the American Federation of Labor in denouncing this wage scale as an attack on organized labor and an American standard of living, and

"BE IT RESOLVED, That we pledge ourselves to support the fight of organized labor and relief workers on the projects against it and that we call upon all white collar workers on these projects in the City of New York to join this, the union of their calling."

A. F. of L. Meets to Fight Wage Slashes

(Continued from Page One)
justice progress. It is difficult even now to adequately appraise the social and economic damage which has been done as a result of the court's decision. Mr. Green pointed out, saying:

"The gains which the workers made during the past two years under the operation of the National Recovery Act, which provided for the prohibition of child labor, the establishment of minimum rates of pay and maximum hours of employment, and Section 7A which provided the right of the workers to organize and bargain collectively, free from intimidation and coercion on the part of employers, have been wiped out. The nation now returns to child labor, sweatshop conditions, long hours, reduced pay and intolerable conditions of employment.

"The millions of unorganized workers who lack economic power and economic strength because of their unorganized condition will now be exploited as never before. Reports reaching the American Federation of Labor headquarters show that immediately following the decision of the Supreme Court employers of labor began reducing wages, increasing hours and resorting to the old policy of the survival of the fittest as practiced before the inauguration of the New Deal. Bituminous coal operators who were saved from financial ruin by the enactment of the National Recovery Act will now be driven again to the verge of bankruptcy and the miners whose wage scales are now subject to attack will be forced into a nation-wide strike as a matter of sheer economic and social protection.

"The needle trades, textile and other industries susceptible to sweatshop conditions will, unless labor can prevent it, sink back to the basis which these industries occupied before the enactment of NRA.

"The economic and social wreckage caused by the decision of the Supreme Court will be apparent on every hand. Small business men and labor will suffer very greatly.

Derides Employer Promises
"The appeal of the representatives of the Chamber of Commerce and the manufacturers' associations, financial and special interests, to maintain wages, will carry no weight. The greatest opposition to the National Recovery Act came from these groups. They denounced the act and the President of the United States most viciously only a short time ago.

"The American Federation of Labor is advising the officers and members of all affiliated organizations to resist to the utmost all attempts to lower wages and living standards. Deprived of the benefits of the National Recovery Act and its steady and stabilizing influence they must now resort to the use of their economic strength. They will be encouraged and supported in the use of this economic strength as a protecting force against oppression, exploitation and reduced living standards.

"The need of the moment is to reconstruct and repair the damage which has been done as a result of the decision of the Supreme Court insofar as it is possible to do so. Labor will press for the enactment of the Wagner Disputes Bill, the Thirty-Hour Work-Week Bill, the Guffey Coal Bill and Social Security legislation; but the fundamental principle involved in the decision of the Supreme Court is a question which must be and will be considered not only by the American Federation of Labor but by the masses of the people generally. This involves the exercise of the power of the Supreme Court to declare laws enacted by Congress as unconstitutional."

Crosswaith Flight to Hold Charter Party

Sunday afternoon, June 9th, at 2:30, the Crosswaith Flight of the Red Falcons of America will celebrate a charter party. On that day Frank R. Crosswaith will present the charter to the Flight. Before the charter ceremonies, entertainment in the form of plays, poems, songs, etc., will be given. After the ceremonies tea and cake will be served.

The affair will be held in the Flatbush Cultural Center, 1719 Avenue P, Brooklyn, headquarters of the Midwood Branch

The End of a Communist Illusion

Lenin's Theory of Civil War as the Road to Socialism --- Western Labor Declines to Follow Policy of "Destruction Even Greater than War" as Instrument of Emancipation . . by John Powers

(This is the second of a series of articles on the Communist International. The first appeared in The New Leader of May 25. On that day the Communist International was scheduled to open its seventh congress in Moscow. Originally, it was to convene on May 1, after a number of previous postponements. At this writing the assembled delegates are still waiting for Stalin's permission to begin their sessions. It is not impossible that the congress may not meet at all because of the exigencies of national Russian policy. This aspect of the problem will be discussed later.)

THE rise of the Comintern was meteoric. While the Socialist International was seeking to gather the broken parts of its structure scattered through the various countries, Lenin ordered full speed ahead for military communism in Russia and the world revolution. Socialists who understood clearly the bitter realities and difficulties of the situation were preparing for a long, laborious period of reconstruction they placed the elimination of factional conflicts and differences and restoration of working class unity. The Bolsheviks thought otherwise. Having proclaimed all Socialists and Socialist parties "lackeys of the bourgeoisie," Lenin and his colleagues declared that the complete and final destruction of the Socialist parties and trade union organizations that failed to submit to Communist tutelage and dictatorship was necessary to the triumph of the world revolution. Why rebuild the Socialist International when the world revolution was around the corner?

As shown in the previous article, to Lenin "the victory of revolution in a number of advanced European countries" was "a question of only two or three months," while Zinoviev, as first president of the Comintern, was certain that "in a year the whole of Europe will be Communist." France, England, Belgium, Italy, delirious with victory over the Central Empires, and in the grip of unprecedented nationalist emotion, would surrender to the forces of Bolshevik revolution together with the defeated countries to please Lenin and his general staff.

Social, political and economic forces at work in Western Europe, so vastly different from those operating in Russia, were to be swept aside at the command of Lenin, Trotsky and Zinoviev. Stern realities of life were to be subordinated to the decrees of the Comintern. This was, indeed, what might well be termed substituting the megalomania of dictators for the materialist interpretation of history. "L'histoire c'est moi" was the proud claim of the Communist dictatorship. Henceforth history was to have a new foundation and beginning, and its motive forces were to be transferred to the Kremlin.

Kremlin Megalomania

Driven forward by this megalomania the Communist dictatorship proceeded with its campaign for the hegemony of Europe. The Comintern was the instrument through which this was to be accomplished.

The Jacobin-Blanquist conception which lay at the bottom of this adventurist policy had always been a fundamental ingredient of Lenin's thinking. The war and the Russian Revolution gave him and his colleagues an opportunity to apply it in real life. The experiment revealed an aspect of Bolshevism which has been accentuated in increasing measure in proportion as Bolshevism found itself unable to realize its original professed revolutionary objectives, both inside and outside of Russia, and which has now attained its mature development under Stalin, the new Bolshevik militarist.

Not in vain was Lenin a student and admirer of Clausewitz, the great ideologist and prophet of Prussian militarism. Clausewitz and Blanqui are the mainstays of Leninism. From Clausewitz Lenin learned a great deal about the "will to power" and the idea of an organized, disciplined force, dictatorially directed, as the instrument of victory; from Blanqui he derived his conception of Socialist revolution as the work of a compact, determined group of professional revolutionists. "A Jacobin—that is a true Social Democrat," wrote Lenin long before the revolution.

Just as Hohenzollern Germany, guided by Clausewitz, had sought to impose its hegemony upon mankind by war, so did Lenin seek to impose the hegemony of the Communist dictatorship upon the whole of Europe through civil war. The Bolshevik conception of civil war (called "World Revolution" in the international arena) as an instrument of Socialist advance is only the counterpart of the old-fashioned militarist doctrine of war as an instrument of national policy. Civil war was an integral part of Bolshevik policy in the Russian Revolution and deliberately invoked by Lenin. He repeatedly underscored this cardinal principle of Bolshevik doctrine and action. For example: writing in 1918 in "Die nächsten

Aufgaben der Sowjet-Macht" (page 44) Lenin said:

"Every great revolution, and particularly the Socialist revolution—even if there had been no external war—is unthinkable without internal war—this is civil war, which means even greater destruction than external war. No Socialist or anarchist—name whom you will—dares to say, in any assembly whatever, that one can arrive at Socialism without civil war, unless he has lost his senses."

Lenin was given to the use of strong words and to denouncing all who failed to agree with him as having lost their senses. He had a tremendous capacity for action, but his ability to perceive facts was confined to long after the event (as witness his proclamation of the New Economic Policy). But no one was more guilty than Lenin of what Marx derided as "the substitution of the revolutionary phrase for the revolutionary substance." History has not seen a more glaring example of this than Lenin's abandonment of the Marxian interpretation of the nature and significance of the Russian Revolution, his reckless attempt to introduce Socialism in Russia at one fell swoop, and his futile search for world revolution.

Because Socialists in Russia and elsewhere would not accept Lenin's idea of civil war as an instrument of Socialist advance, a conception involving "even greater destruction than external war," to use Lenin's own characterization, they were again branded as "traitors" responsible for the failure of the world revolution when it became necessary to find an excuse for the failure of the Comintern and the whole world revolution theory.

The "Treasure" of Social Democracy

The simple fact, however, was that the peoples of Western Europe, having just passed through the greatest and most destructive of all wars, could not quite perceive the wisdom of jumping from the frying pan into the fire by following the road of "even greater destruction than external war."

Without taking into consideration the insurmountable obstacle to world revolution presented by the profound differences in political, social and economic circumstances that divided Russia from the rest of Europe, it was rather naive to expect that the workers of Europe, in any substantial majority, would accept the policy of "even greater destruction than external war" as he path to Socialism. What Europe, and particularly the shattered labor movement, required was peace and reconstruction, not civil war, if Europe was to be saved from

falling into complete dissolution and barbarism which would have definitely buried the hopes of Socialism for a long, long time to come.

This was the "treason" of the Socialist parties and all other organizations of the working class who refused to follow the Comintern and the dictation of Lenin and Trotsky.

Although the Communist International was not founded officially until March 4, 1919, the Bolshevik drive for world revolution began immediately upon establishment of the Communist dictatorship in Russia, November 7, 1917. The war was still in progress and one of the promises the Bolsheviks had made to the disorganized soldier mobs at the front and the "lumpen-proletariat" in Petrograd who raised them to power was "immediate peace." The intensive Bolshevik propaganda conducted at the front for months had completely demoralized the army. The last vestiges of discipline and organization were wiped out with the accession of the Bolsheviks to power. In their agitation against the Provisional Government, in which representatives of the Socialist parties occupied leading positions, the Bolsheviks charged that the government and the Socialist parties were bent on "continuing the war," but like other Bolshevik indictments against the revolutionary elements who did not see eye to eye with Lenin and Trotsky the charge was without foundation.

Neither the Provisional Government nor the Socialist parties ever "insisted" (as our parlor-bolsheviks in this country like to put it) on "continuing the war." They regarded the continuance of the war

as the greatest obstacle and danger to the very life interests of Russia and the revolution. The policy of peace without victory, of peace without annexations and indemnities, was clearly and unequivocally proclaimed by the Soviets of Workers' and Soldiers' Deputies when the Socialist parties were in control, and became the policy of the Provisional Government.

On the other hand, none of the revolutionary parties, including the Bolsheviks, favored a separate peace with Germany. Lenin and Trotsky vehemently denied that their purpose in seeking power was to conclude such a separate peace. In this respect they professed to be in agreement with the Socialist parties on the principle that Russia could not simply make a non-chalant exit from the war and escape the consequences of either German domination in event of a German victory or of peace at Russia's expense in event of the victory of the Allies.

The Socialists Were Correct
As developments later demonstrated, the Socialist parties were absolutely correct in their view that the very life of the revolution and the independence and integrity of Revolutionary Russia depended upon her ability to hold on until a general peace was concluded, in the negotiation of which Revolutionary Russia would play a free and equal part.

To hold on at all costs until the conclusion of the war was, unfortunately, the only way out of the dilemma. That was how the Provisional Government and the Socialist parties saw the situation. They were far removed from desiring to keep Russia in the war a day longer than was absolutely necessary.

While denying that they were aiming at a separate peace, Lenin and Trotsky maintained that only the overthrow of the Provisional Government and the victory of the Bolshevik Party would facilitate the conclusion of the war on the basis of a general peace to be brought about by world revolution.

But when the world revolution failed to materialize upon seizure of power by the Bolsheviks and the Bolsheviks found themselves compelled to make good on the promises of "immediate peace" they had given to the ignorant, declassed soldier mobs at the front they ordered an immediate armistice all along the line and entered into separate peace negotiations with Hohenzollern Germany. There was nothing else to do under the circumstances, for the German armies, quite oblivious to the Bolshevik revolutionary proclamations, were ready to advance on Petrograd and Moscow, while the irresponsible propaganda of the Bolsheviks at the front had rendered the Russian army completely incapable of resistance. Revolutionary Russia stood face to face with calamity.

It was precisely this situation that the Provisional Government, supported by the Socialist parties, feared when it appealed to the Russian people not to "continue the war" but to hold on until a general peace, in which Revolutionary Russia would have her say. At the same time the Provisional Government continued to press the Allies for such a general peace at the quickest possible time. It was not the fault of the Provisional Government and of the Socialist parties that general peace did not come sooner than Revolutionary Russia's very life interests demanded, or that the German ar-

mies, led by Ludendorff, seeking the dismemberment of Russia, continued to make war on Revolutionary Russia.

At Brest-Litovsk

Lenin and Trotsky had promised to solve this situation by forcing the world revolution. Instead they found themselves face to face with Imperial Germany at Brest-Litovsk, where the separate peace negotiations were conducted under the direction of Trotsky, then Commissar for Foreign Affairs. Instead of finding himself addressing a revolutionary audience, Trotsky was confronted with the necessity of addressing Von Kuhlman, the Kaiser's foreign minister; General Hoffman, the hard-boiled representative of the German high command, and the other cynical, reactionary representatives of the Central Powers.

It was a rather embarrassing situation, but Trotsky was not to be dismayed. The world revolution having failed to materialize in response to the Bolshevik proclamations from Smolny Institute, Trotsky was going to bring it about by "addressing the peoples of Europe over the heads of the governments!"

From the negotiation table at Brest-Litovsk, the German listened patiently for weeks, but grown weary at last of Trotsky's oratory they decided to put a speedy end to the conversations. Striking the table with his fist, General Hoffman ordered the Bolshevik delegation to sign on the dotted line. But Trotsky's reservoir of rhetoric was by no means exhausted. It never is. He defied General Hoffman to do his worst, and to make the defiance effective he invented his celebrated ingenious but utterly futile formula of "neither peace nor war." He "slammed the door," as he liked to say, and returned to Russia with his colleagues—to make more speeches.

This time the burden of his speeches was a "holy war" on Germany. Having played so brilliantly and successfully the role of the Soviet Talleyrand he was now going to don the mantle of the Bolshevik Carnot. Still supremely confident in the efficacy of the eloquent phrase and "the great gesture," Trotsky insisted that the Soviet Government decline to accept the dictated German peace terms and resume the war against Germany. He was vigorously supported by a majority of the Bolshevik leaders, who agreed that it was better for the Soviet Government, organ of world revolution to go down fighting than to bow to the dictates of Hohenzollern Germany.

"We have maintained that the Russian Revolution will either expand or will be crushed by world

imperialism," said Bukharin.

A majority of the Bolshevik leaders took the same view, advancing the opinion that the interests of the Russian Revolution must be sacrificed to the cause of world revolution, that Russia must go down fighting, if necessary.

"Our strangling may help to bring about the revolution of the west," said Lomoff, arguing that, in the other hand, the preservation of the Russian revolutionary government, might prove fatal to world revolution.

"By saving our Socialist republic," said Bukharin, "we are losing the chance of promoting world revolution." (For an account of the debates on the Brest-Litovsk peace see "Minutes of the Central Committee," Volume XXX, published by the Lenin Institute.)

A Demoralized Army

Unfortunately, there was nothing to fight with. The Russian army, demoralized and disorganized, had taken the Bolshevik advice and gone home. The German armies resumed their advance on Petrograd and Moscow. It was then that Lenin stepped in. The time for talk had passed. It was necessary to act. The response of the Germans to the refusal of the Soviet Government to sign their dictated peace was an imminent threat to the very life of the Soviet Government. Lenin was quite ready, like Trotsky, Bukharin and the majority of the Bolshevik leaders, to sacrifice Revolutionary Russia to the mythical world revolution, but he was not ready to sacrifice the dictatorship of which he was the master, the dictatorship which he considered the "springboard" to world revolution. With the resumption of the German advance, the Soviet of Peoples Commissars changed its mind and decided to accept the peace of Brest-Litovsk by a vote of 7 to 6. Lenin received his "breathing spell."

The Brest-Litovsk treaty, in comparison with which the Versailles Treaty was an act of mercy, tripped Russia of her richest provinces, including the fertile Ukraine, and by its economic terms turned Russia into a German colony.

The Brest-Litovsk Treaty, signed March 3, 1918, was annulled by the terms of the armistice of November 11, 1918, forced by the victorious Allies upon beaten Germany.

Lenin's "Statesmanship"

There can be no doubt that under the circumstances Lenin's policy of yielding to the Germans in signing the Brest-Litovsk treaty was the only possible one. But had Germany been victorious—and as students of the war know she came very close to victory in the concluding months of the war—the Brest-Litovsk treaty would have remained in force. Hohenzollern Germany would have been triumphant throughout Europe, and the Russian Revolution would have been strangled. Lenin's statesmanship consisted in the victory of the Allies.

Parlor Bolsheviks forget this simple fact when they speak of Lenin's "great statesmanship" in concluding a separate peace with Germany. The Brest-Litovsk treaty was the inevitable consequence of Lenin's reckless policy of world revolution. It marked a tragic defeat for that policy and a great tragedy for Revolutionary Russia. This policy not only brought Revolutionary Russia to the very brink of destruction but was also responsible for prolonging the war many months longer than was necessary. For had Hohenzollern Germany been unable to move some 1,500,000 troops from the Eastern front to the West after conclusion of the Brest-Litovsk treaty for the final drive which nearly brought her victory, events would have moved to a much speedier conclusion. With the defeat of Hohenzollern Germany there would have been a general peace, in the conclusion of which Revolutionary Russia would have played a direct and important part. And who can doubt that with Revolutionary Russia at the peace table, the Socialist policy of "peace without annexations and indemnities" would have influenced to a very considerable degree the peace of Versailles and the whole line of subsequent developments? The entire set-up in Europe would have been quite different, and Europe and the international Socialist and labor movements would have been spared many of the misfortunes which befell them as a result of the peace and its economic and political effects.

The foregoing brief historical resume reveals clearly the "achievements" of the Bolshevik program of world revolution as it resulted from the first experiment of the Communist dictatorship in the domain of foreign policy—the events that led inevitably to the treaty of Brest-Litovsk and the isolation of Revolutionary Russia from participation in the conclusion of the general peace.

In a forthcoming article we will continue to trace the development of Bolshevik policy as it took shape with the actual formation of the Communist International.



Seventeen years after the "last" war, London civilians learn to wear gas masks.

PROPERTY

It's a Hard Job to Find Where Control Lies in Modern Capitalist Corporations,-- Ownership and Wealth - - by Kirby Page

This is the second installment of Kirby Page's remarkable series on the origin of property, its meaning and the Socialist point of view with respect to the solution of the problems raised by capitalism. A third article will appear next week.

IN a notable chapter on "The Evolution of Control," Berle and Means interpret the significance of various types of control of modern corporations. "Ownership of wealth without appreciable ownership appears to be the logical outcome of corporate development. . . .

"Five major types can be distinguished, though no sharp dividing line separates type from type. These include (1) control through almost complete ownership, (2) majority control, (3) control through a legal device without majority ownership, (4) minority control, and (5) management control."

Various Legal Devices

In describing the third of these types, Berle and Means say: "In the effort to maintain control of a corporation without ownership of a majority of its stock, various legal devices have been developed. Of these, the most important among the very large corporations is the device of 'pyramiding.' This involves the owning of a majority of the stock of one corporation which in turn holds a majority of the stock of another—a process which can be repeated a number of times. . . . The owner of a majority of the stock of the company at the apex of the pyramid can have almost as complete control of the entire property as a sole owner even though his ownership interest is less than one per cent of the whole. . . . In recent years the Van Sweringen brothers have been notably successful in using this

device to create and retain control of a great railroad system. . . . By this pyramid an investment of less than twenty million dollars has been able to control eight Class I railroads having combined assets of over two billion dollars. Less than one per cent of the total investment or hardly more than two per cent of the investment represented by stock has been sufficient to control this great system."

A second legal device for retaining control without owning a majority of stock is that of non-voting stock. "Perhaps the most notable example is the non-voting common stock of the Dodge Brothers, Inc., issued in 1925. In this case neither the preferred nor four-fifths of the common stock was entitled to vote in the election of directors. By owning 250,001 shares of voting common representing an investment of less than two and one-quarter million dollars, Dillon Read and Company was able to exercise legal control over this hundred and thirty million dollar concern."

Tiny Minority Control

In only a negligible number of cases is a majority of the stock of a huge corporation owned by a score of individuals. Usually the heaviest stockholder owns only a tiny fraction of the total. The largest holding in the American Telephone and Telegraph Company is less than one per cent, while the 20 largest holdings combined approximate only four per cent of the total. The 20 largest holders of stock in the United States Steel Corporation own five per cent of the total.

"In such companies where does control lie? . . . In the election of the board of directors the stockholder ordinarily has three alternatives. He can refrain from voting, he can attend the annual meeting and personally vote his stock, or he can sign a proxy transferring his voting power to certain individuals selected by the management of the corporation, the proxy committee. . . . The stockholder is practically reduced to the alternative of not voting at all or else of handing over his vote to

individuals over whom he has no control and in whose selection he did not participate. In neither case will he be able to exercise any measure of control."

The types of ultimate control of the 200 largest corporations in the United States have been classified by Berle and Means as follows:

By Number By Wealth
Management control 44% 58%
Legal device 21 22
Minority control 23 14
Majority ownership 5 2
Private ownership. 6 4

In hands of receiver 1 negligible
Thus it is apparent that only 6 per cent of the assets of the 200 largest corporations are operated under private ownership and majority ownership combined.

Certain Consequences of the Present System

In seeking to evaluate the significance of private ownership of the mass instruments of production, let us consider the effects upon distribution of income, upon utilization of equipment, upon the winners, upon the losers, upon human relations.

The struggle for private profit through private ownership of producers' property has undoubtedly resulted in a high degree of industrial efficiency. The best equipped plants in the various industries of this country are marvels of smoothness and their potential productivity far exceeds that of other nations. But a high degree of this efficiency is wasted by failure to achieve an even more significant type of efficiency. It is not enough to secure efficiency in the factory; there must also be efficiency in relationship, efficiency in correlation. Plants must be satisfactorily related to other plants, to sources of raw materials, to supplies of credit, to other industries, and above all to the purchasing power of consumers.

Maldistribution of Income

In several ways private ownership of heavy industry frustrates the effort to achieve high efficiency in correlation. In the first place, this system leads naturally and inevitably to maldistribution of income. It diverts too large a share

of the national income into the coffers of owners and investors, with the result that the masses of workers are denied incomes high enough to enable them to buy the goods and services they need. The paradox of too much money in the hands of owners and too little money in the pockets of worker-consumers is inherent in the prevailing property system. Ownership conveys power, and power appropriates privilege. The extent to which ownership is responsible for the chasm between the rich and the poor may easily be demonstrated.

Mr. Robert R. Doane, formerly of the staff of the National Bureau of Economic Research, in his authoritative study, "The Measurement of American Wealth," cites evidence revealing the percentage of the total national income which is received in the form of wages and salaries, rents, interest, profits, as follows:

Years	Wages	Rents	Interest	Profits
1932	56.42	15.53	14.62	13.43
1929	55.02	15.62	9.63	19.73
1921	60.36	12.85	10.22	16.57
1917	47.39	12.04	7.43	33.14
1909	51.32	9.96	7.04	31.68

From this table it is evident that year after year more than two dollars out of every five of the national income are received from the ownership of property, whereas the vastly greater number of workers receive in the form of wages and salaries combined less than three dollars out of five.

Another significant study of national income was prepared by Dr. Simon Kuznets and other members of the staff of the National Bureau of Economic Research for the Bureau of Foreign and Domestic Commerce of the United States and published as a Senate document. The following table is taken from this report:

Years	Salaries and Wages	Dividends	Interest	Rents	Profits
1932	64.5	5.3	11.2	3.8	14.4
1931	64.7	6.8	8.9	4.4	14.4
1930	64.4	7.7	7.7	4.6	14.8
1929	65.1	7.4	7.0	5.1	14.8

According to this classification, property owners received half as much as the total paid out in salaries and wages, although the former group is only a fraction as large as the total number of wage earners.

Vivid Contrasts

The significance of these figures stands out more vividly when we examine the proportion of property-income received by individuals who reported an income as high as \$5,000 per year. In 1929 the number of incomes as high as \$5,000 was just over one million—out of 75 million adults in the United States. Yet this group, constituting in 1929 less than 1 1/2 per cent of the adult population, received the following proportions of the national income:

Years	Wages and Salaries	Dividends	Interest	Rents and Royalties
1932	6.8	58.4	9.7	8.6
1931	8.3	59.9	13.7	11.1
1930	9.2	64.0	18.2	13.8
1929	10.1	71.2	22.9	15.8

That is to say, 1 1/2 persons out of every 100 adults in the United States received during 1929 two and one-half times as much in dividends as the other 98 1/2 combined!

No wonder, therefore, that Walter Rautenstrauch, Professor of Industrial Engineering at Columbia University, writes: "Now turn to the property-owner. This gentleman is neither producer nor overhead worker. He lives through money taken in in rent, dividends, interest, and royalties. He tells not, neither does he spin. When he engages actively in business he receives a salary. And as the reward of ownership idling, he has always been well off, taking in more than four times as much as his working brethren in 1917, or \$3,960. In 1932 he was more than five times as well off as the average production worker; more than ten times as prosperous as the average farmer, and took in close to four times as much money as the average overhead worker. There were 750,000 fewer property-owners in 1932 than in 1917."

(Continued next week)

The Workers Abroad

An International Review of the Socialist and Labor Movement of the World

By John Powers

Brilliant Victory For Socialists in Holland

NEXT to Czechoslovakia, which occupies the most dangerous position of all the democratic countries in Europe, wedged in as it is among a group of fascist states, little Holland is hard pressed more than any other country by the fascist danger. Because of its strategic geographical position—military experts believe that in the event of war Holland is sure to be overrun together with Belgium—Hitler Germany considers it of great importance to obtain a strong political foothold in the country. Hence the intensive fascist propaganda being conducted there with large financial assistance from Berlin. This makes the counter-offensive of the Dutch Social Democrats a vital element in the fight against fascism. Our comrades in Holland are fully aware of the situation and are doing everything in their power to resist the fascist pressure and upset Hitler's calculations.

The recent provincial elections were a crucial test of strength, from which the Social Democrats emerged with flying colors. As pointed out by J. W. Albarda, one of the outstanding leaders of our Dutch party, the elections were not merely of importance for provincial affairs but they also have great significance nationally, since the provincial legislatures chose the members of the upper house of parliament, the senate.

"On this particular occasion," says Comrade Albarda, "the elections were more important than ever, for the National Socialist movement (the fascist N.S.B.) took part in the struggle for the first time."

Pointing out that as everywhere else the economic crisis has created a favorable soil for the demagoguery of the extreme right and left, Comrade Albarda speaks of the fantastic hopes which the Dutch fascists had entertained before the election. On the other hand the circumstances were equally favorable for the Communists and the left wing Socialists more or less akin to them.

"Since the very beginning of the crisis the Social Democratic Labor Party has been fully aware of these dangers which threaten it from the side of the Communists and fascists," Comrade Albarda writes, "It has fought against fascism with the greatest energy ever since this movement began to be active in Holland. But with just as much determination it has opposed Communism and all which resembles it."

Because of the fierce battle which the party has been compelled to wage to ward off the attacks from the extreme right and the extreme left, with the confused middle parties likewise hostile to the Social Democracy, the provincial elections were to be a test of whether or not the line taken by the Social Democracy was the correct one. The answer was emphatically in the affirmative.

Result of Elections

THE result of the elections was a matter of great satisfaction for the Social Democratic Labor Party," Comrade Albarda reports. "While all the other great parties have had to suffer more or less considerable losses the S.D.L.P. has brilliantly maintained its position in the country. Its voters have remained faithful to it, and it has retained approximately the same number of seats in the legislatures of the eleven provinces as a whole (126 in 1935 as against 127 in 1931).

"The strongest party, the Catholics, lost five seats out of 180. The anti-Revolutionary Party (Calvinist) lost seven out of 82, and the Christian-Historical Party (Evangelical) nine out of 70. The Liberals lost 25 of their 58 seats, and the Liberal-Democrats eight out of 36. The last five parties mentioned above formed the bloc upon which the Colijn Government relies for support. This bloc has thus been considerably weakened by the election. At the elections to the Second Chamber which took place in 1933 these five parties together obtained 62.46% of the total number of votes. In this election in 1935 their vote fell to 58.54%. The S.D.L.P., which had obtained 21.46% (798,000) in the Parliamentary elections of 1933, now obtained 21.04% (782,592).

"In spite of their fierce campaign against the S.D.L.P., the bourgeois parties were thus unable to weaken our Party. They themselves have been very seriously weakened by the N.S.B. The National Socialists obtained 294,000 votes, 9.1% of the total, and they carried off 44 seats in the Provincial States. This gain was solely at the expense of the bourgeois parties. Social Democracy lost nothing to fascism.

"The parties to the left of the S.D.L.P. have not been able to inflict losses upon it either, if the country is considered as a whole.

"The Independent Socialists, who broke away from the S.D.L.P. in 1932 under the leadership of P. J. Schmidt, amalgamated quite recently with the so-called Revolutionary Socialist Party (led by H. Sneevliet) to form a new party which has taken the name of Revolutionary Socialist Labor Party (R.S.A.P.). These two small parties obtained 27,476 and 48,405 votes respectively, a total of 75,881, or 2.1% of the total poll, in the Parliamentary elections of 1933. In 1935 the R.S.A.P. obtained 51,607 votes, or 1.39%.

"Since 1933 the Communist vote and the R.S.A.P. together have dropped from 194,117 to 179,184, or from 5.28% to 4.82%.

"The success achieved by the Communists in Amsterdam had an attenuating influence upon the loss submitted by our enemies on the left. In the capital of the country the number of Communist votes has increased from 30,000 in 1933 to 47,000 in 1935 (from 10.05% to 12.5%). The S.D.L.P. vote has fallen slightly in Amsterdam, from 119,531 to 118,031, or from 31.37% to 31.2%. As against this in the other great towns of the country (Rotterdam, The Hague, Utrecht) the Socialist vote has shown a magnificent increase. In the capital of Gelderland, the province in which the voting took place last of all, the S.D.L.P. vote increased from 8,854 in 1931, and 9,833 in 1933, to 12,436 in 1935, the percentage being 25.6%, 27.8% and 31.6% respectively.

"As a consequence of these elections there will be many changes in the First Chamber. During the summer half the First Chamber will have to be renewed. The election takes place on the basis of proportional representation. If the bourgeois parties do not conclude electoral pacts to put the S.D.L.P. at a disadvantage, our Party will be the only large party whose representation will be increased. In 1935 the group in the Chamber will be increased from 11 to 12 members, and in 1936 from 12 to 13. As against this, the Catholic representation will fall from 16 to 15, the Christian-Historical Party from 7 to 6, the Liberals from 6 to 5, and the Liberal-Democrats from 4 to 3. In 1936 the Catholics, the Christian-Historical Party and the Liberal-Democrats will again lose one seat each, and the Liberals 2.

"The Nazis enter the First Chamber this year with two representatives, and in 1936 they will have two more. The Communists enter the Senate for the first time with one representative, and this Senator will be the only one in 1936.

"The firmness with which the S.D.L.P. has resisted the attacks from all parts has made a profound impression in all quarters in Holland. Those who hoped that on account of the unfavorable conditions and of the formidable anti-Socialist campaign carried on against it from all sides, the S.D.L.P. would be crushed, have been profoundly disappointed.

"On the other hand, many of those who had seen with apprehension the growth of fascism, which threatens to abolish the old democratic customs of the Dutch people, will have understood that the S.D.L.P. is a solid fortress from which the onslaught of the barbarian hordes is being resisted.

"These elections have shown that in Holland, as was the case in certain other countries, only two parties can resist fascism: the Socialist Party and the Catholics. In a general manner it is to be expected that these two parties will have to carry on the decisive struggle against fascism, and there is every hope that in Holland they will be able to win a brilliant victory for democracy."

We Are Called Inconsistent

NORMAN THOMAS (himself a model of consistency) accuses us of being inconsistent. In his column in the local factional organ he suggests that there is inconsistency in our approval of the return of a group of Communists in Czechoslovakia to the Social Democratic Party, as expressed in this column May 25, and the "alarm" we feel with respect to Communist joining our party.

Our critic asserts also that the invitation of the N.E.C. to "individuals not groups" to come to the Socialist Party of America was

By Charles S. Bernstein

ONE constantly hears people, who call themselves Socialists or Communists, remark that he heard a speaker over the radio or listened to a lecture, or read an article or book, in which the speaker or writer spoke or wrote "like a Socialist."

On the surface the remark appears innocent—like a Socialist. But what does the person mean when he says this? A demagogue speaking over the radio declares that the administration has failed to end the depression. Immediately people begin to believe that the speaker is a Socialist. Nothing could be further from the truth. Socialist and other revolutionaries have never claimed that the Democratic administration was attempting to do away with the cause of the depression. From the very first day of the New Deal Socialists have shown that it was only a smoke screen set up by the advance guard of the capitalist class to save the profit system.

Upon other occasions we hear smooth-tongued politicians bellow about the "rights of the people." This, too, is taken for good currency. Surely Socialists know enough not to trust these political

merchants. Or one may hear some half-baked liberals talk of human rights and take that for Socialism. And so on down the line we have an amalgam of the freak, the fake and the fraud, parading as saviors, and are led to believe that they are something different from what they really are.

Talk is cheap, and it is the privilege of anyone and everyone; but that is no reason why Socialists should be misled by the phrasemongers. Not all these people are ignorant; in fact the capitalists hire only the best and most educated experts to defend their cause. The writers are paid so much per word, line or column, and above all, they are always given the space in the best magazines and newspapers in which to expound their schemes for their masters. Speakers are given time on the leading nationwide hook-ups that enable them to speak to millions. Here is where they always have the advantage over the radicals.

But, say our friends, what does it matter whether so-and-so is a Socialist or not, so long as he makes people think? The question is—think what?

The Real Socialist

An old adage says: "Every horse is a quadruped, but every quadruped is not a horse." This is

good logic. Now, for the sake of being polite, as this may be misconstrued, I will use my own illustration: All Socialists are members of the species homo-sapiens, but all members of the species homo-sapiens are not Socialists. Every one who advocates government ownership or government control of industry is not a Socialist. But every Socialist advocates complete public ownership and democratic management of the national wealth and industry. Every person who assails the present order of things or condemns the Democrats or Republicans, advocates some element of social change, but if he does not advocate social reconstruction, or more specifically, social revolution, he cannot be a true Socialist.

Socialists stand for Socialism—Socialism stands for the collective ownership and democratic management of all land, industry and finance—which in turn means a complete social revolution of our present order of capitalist society. Therefore anyone who advocates anything less, no matter what he may name it, is not advocating Socialism, but reform, which is the antithesis of Socialism.

This, however, does not mean that everyone who speaks or writes must use this or that stereotyped phrase. But the essence, the mean-

ing of what he says, must always have the same central emphasis; it must be the whole thing or it is not Socialism. The sooner we realize this the sooner will we make our thoughts clear, and the better will our movement fare, and the surer will our direction be.

Some Quack Doctors

Silver-coin Coughlin, the smooth radio broadcaster from the Shrine of the Little Flower, would have us believe that the free coinage of silver and prayers will cure our economic and social ills. India, China and other countries have been engaged in this magic for centuries but are still smarting under the worst kind of misery.

Then we have the patent-medicine man from Louisiana demanding that we limit the production of cotton and other commodities, so that the producers may get higher prices, as the road to a million dollar income.

Now, how are incomes of a million dollars a year going to be achieved? How would that end poverty?

The problem confronting the masses is not the limitation of fortunes, but the abolition of the profit system. This means that the ownership and control, management and operation of the industry and commerce of the nation, must

become the property of the whole people. For so long as the present system of capitalist production of the nation's wealth rests in the hands of the few who control it, profits must inevitably follow, and so long as private profits exist, misery will continue. Because profits can only be made when people produce goods, wares and merchandise for which they are in turn paid wages or salary, the wages of the workers must be kept low in order that the owner of industry may make a profit. When this point is overlooked, the whole structure of our economic society is misunderstood.

The Socialist view of the capitalist order of society is that there must be a reorganization—a social revolution—that is, a change from the present private profit making world to that of a cooperative society in which all who work with hand and brain will share the wealth of the things produced. This wise man of capitalism do not want; even the cure-all specialists are content with the system as it is, except that they want to insert a patch here and there. Here is where the division comes between reform for reform alone and social revolution. And one must decide on which side he stands.

Their Total Wages \$1,369,583 in 1934



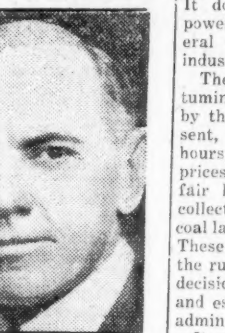
George G. Crawford
\$250,000



Charles M. Schwab
\$250,000



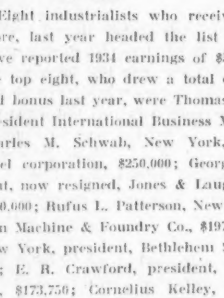
Thomas J. Watson
\$365,358



Eugene Grace
\$180,000



Cornelius F. Kelley
\$171,666



Joseph Wilshire
\$152,559

Eight industrialists who received \$150,000 salary, or more, last year headed the list of 172 executives who have reported 1934 earnings of \$50,000 or more. Among the top eight, who drew a total of \$1,740,233 in salaries and bonus last year, were Thomas J. Watson, New York, president International Business Machines, Inc., \$365,358; Charles M. Schwab, New York, chairman Bethlehem Steel corporation, \$250,000; George G. Crawford, president, now resigned, Jones & Laughlin Steel corporation, \$250,000; Rufus L. Patterson, New York, president American Machine & Foundry Co., \$197,000; Eugene G. Grace, New York, president, Bethlehem Steel corporation, \$180,000; E. R. Crawford, president, McKeesport Tin Plate Co., \$173,756; Cornelius Kelley, New York, president, Anaconda Copper Corp., \$171,666, and Joseph Wilshire, New York, president Standard Brands, Inc., \$152,559.

Behind the Scenes in Washington



AFTER a week of confusion, of helpless inaction, as if paralyzed by the Supreme Court's decision, the President is now staging a spectacular come-back. Even the "defunct" Congress seems to be on the point of recovery. The "big boss" talks big again and is ready to resume leadership in the good old Rooseveltian way. Just what the way is, and how well it can take the place of the NRA and the other New Deal reforms rendered valueless by the "nine old men in kimonos" is hard to tell at the time of this writing. But the important thing is that he has a plan.

Roosevelt at the Bat
PRESIDENT ROOSEVELT called a cabinet meeting to discuss NRA legislation on Tuesday morning. This cabinet meeting was followed by a conference, including congressional leaders, followed by a special press conference at which he announced his plans.

Announcement of the conference followed a call at the White House by Donald R. Richberg, chairman of the National Industrial Recovery Board, during which Richberg was

extended "on the same basis" on which the Communist group in Czechoslovakia returned to the Social Democracy.

The facts are very simple:

The Czechoslovak Communists in question published a signed declaration repudiating the Communist Party and Communism and embracing the principles and policies of Social Democracy. They appealed to all Communists to do likewise. In other words, they ceased to be Communists and became Social Democrats.

It is not true, therefore, that their return to the Social Democracy was "on the same basis" on which the N.E.C. has permitted Communists in this country to come into our party.

Contrary to the clear-out and unequivocal declaration of the Czech Communists in question, Communists are permitted to enter the Socialist Party of America with declarations stating openly their purpose of promoting Communism in our party. For example, a certain Albert Goldman declared in print that although he has returned to

the Socialist Party he still regarded Lenin and Trotsky as his guides. Ben Gitlow, speaking for his group, was permitted to enter the Socialist Party with the statement "we intend neither to hide nor suppress our differences" with the Socialist Party. He has frankly declared his purpose to capture the Socialist Party for Communism.

In other words, the N.E.C. has permitted and is permitting Communists, who continue to preach Communist doctrine and practice Communist methods, to infiltrate the party.

We submit that this is not "the same basis" upon which the Czech Communists returned to the Social Democratic Party.

When Communists cease to be Communists and give evidence of being Social Democrats we will drop our objections. Norman Thomas' charge against us is without basis in fact or logic.

A. F. of L. War Council Meets
THE call for the meeting of the A. F. of L. executive council Thursday was couched in fighting words.

"The American Federation of Labor," said President William Green, "is advising the officers and members of all affiliated organizations to resist to the utmost all attempts to lower wages and living standards."

"Deprived of the benefits of the National Recovery Act and its steadying and stabilizing influence they must now resort to the use of their economic strength."

"They will be encouraged and supported in the use of this economic strength as a protecting force against oppression, exploitation and reduced living standards."

Green's rallying cry followed a strike call sent out Saturday by the United Mine Workers of America, which instructed its members to stop work at midnight, June 16.

Work Started on All Fronts
CHAIRMAN CONNERY, of the House Labor Committee, is preparing to introduce a bill containing the suggestions made by Senator O'Mahoney, providing that a licensed business be required to comply with a 30-hour week, minimum wages, collective bargaining provisions and child labor prohibition.

Meanwhile Secretary of Labor Perkins planned to meet representatives of Northeastern industrial States to discuss interstate compacts for minimum wages, maximum hours and the right of collective bargaining. The discussion will look toward an agreement on uniform State legislation. This plan also may be discussed by the executive council of the American Federation of Labor. More attention, however, is expected to be given the labor disputes bill, the 30-hour week bill and the Guffey coal bill.

A strike of 450,000 coal miners called for June 17 hinges largely on congressional action on the Guffey bill. The Guffey bill is not a perfect instrument. Not by far. But it offers a life-line to a drowning industry.

The miners are demanding higher wages and shorter hours, but their essential protest is against wage-cutting, chiseling and the general chaos in coal. NRA's coal code mitigated but failed to cure that trouble. The miners believe, and most mine owners agree, that in the pending Guffey coal control bill Congress has not only a means of stabilizing their industry but also a constitutional formula for Federal regulation of similar industries.

The Guffey bill appears to meet the court's two objections to the

That Historic Press Conference

JUST as historic as the Supreme Court's decisions of May 27 will

I. F. T. U. Calls for War On All Forms of Fascism

(Continued from Page One)

scheme for the reduction of armaments and the safeguarding of the peace of the world, then the British Movement will be ready to show that it is not going to be threatened or intimidated by a Hitler or any combination of Hitlers.

"We realize the gravity of the issues involved. We want to avoid any possible provocative action."

"We want to see right down into fundamental declarations, from whatever quarter they come."

"The proposal, therefore, of the British Movement is that the principles laid down by Hitler, in his recent speech, should be properly examined."

"The British Government should take the initiative in this examination, and should itself promote the calling of a conference, through the League of Nations, or such agencies as are open to the League, to get Germany in consultation with the other nations."

Supervision for Arms

"While that remains our policy, we are insistent that there shall be set up, at a very early moment, a proper system of international supervision and examination to make sure that the Hitler Government, or any other country, does not build up armaments to use when the occasion arises."

Mr. George Hicks, M.P., reported on the anti-fascist action taken through the Federation.

"We know," he said, "that fascism and Naziism are using unemployment and the world crisis and have also used nationalism in its old form for their purposes."

"Our position on Naziism is plain. The brutalities of Naziism led to the establishment of the boycott against the Nazis' trade—a boycott which is not directed against the German workers, but against the Nazi system."

Hicks then gave striking figures, showing how, during the period of the boycott, German exports had declined until a surplus of export over imports had been turned into a surplus of imports over exports.

"We Englishmen, and the workers of Canada, South Africa and Australia, have taken part in this

battle, and it is the first time that the trade union international has taken such a step against any country," Mr. Hicks continued.

"We do not trust Hitler. We remember what he wrote in his book, 'My Struggle'—called the Bible of Naziism: 'We must remember that we shall be able to enter again into the possession of our lost territories, not by the invocation of the Almighty, not by hopes founded on the League of Nations, but only by the force of our arms.'"

Fascism and Naziism meant starvation for the workers. Wages were low and conditions terrible both in Italy and Germany.

In Italy, since fascism came to power, agricultural workers' wages had been reduced by 40 per cent., according to the latest official Italian figures.

In the past five years the reduction of wages in the glass industry was 40 per cent, in cotton 40 per cent, silk 38 per cent, hemp and jute 30 per cent, engineering 23 per cent, building 30 per cent.

In Concentration Camps

"In Germany one hundred thousand comrades are in concentration camps," Hicks declared. "Five members of the family of ex-Chancellor Scheidmann are under arrest, because Herr Scheidmann wrote an article in an American paper. This was falsely quoted in the Nazi Press."

"All the young people are industrially conscripted and forced to work for 6d. a day. One-third of the workers earn 24s. a week, while another third less than 15s. a week."

"That is the fate of the workers in Italy, and Germany under fascist and Nazi rule. We must fight this because it is worsening the conditions of the workers; because it is driving us towards war."

"I ask you to remember the case of Herr Husemann. Fascism and Naziism mean the complete destruction of liberty, the loss of all we hold dear."

Conference, following Mr. Hicks' speech, decided to strengthen the anti-Hitler boycott.

Editor's Corner

Review of and Comment on Events Here and Abroad, Critical and Otherwise

By James O'neal

Socialism vs. Bolshevism

IN response to requests received in the past few months we shall devote as much of this column as possible to the conflicts in philosophy and principle between Socialism and Bolshevism. The basic theories, methods and aims of the two are opposed. There are party members who believe that the only conflict is Bolshevik support of violence and armed insurrection. Others include approval of dictatorship, still others the methods of Bolshevism. Some Socialists agree that advocacy of armed insurrection should be condemned but that we should permit other Bolshevik views to be urged so long as the advocates accept the general party program. Otherwise, they say, we strike down party democracy.

First as to this conception of party democracy. It would admit the philosophical anarchist, the syndicalist, and communist of various shades, providing, they do not publicly advocate armed insurrection.

It should be noted that this view of democracy has never been accepted by any of the schools of anarchism or communism, nor has it ever been advanced in the Socialist movement before. It is not democracy but the destruction of democratic procedure. It is not a requirement of democracy that an organization must provide publications, forums, and local units for persons holding widely different views. Each organization requires as a first condition of its life and stability that its members agree on certain basic ideas. Otherwise there is conflict which must end in civil war and the destruction of the organization's democracy.

Within the range of fundamental ideas there is plenty of room for discussion, but if minds do not meet on basic ideas democracy is torn to shreds in a conflict that is certain. Does this mean we deny democracy to anarchists, syndicalists, communists, etc.? Certainly not. They do not place their organization apparatus—local units, committees, conferences, newspapers—at our disposal, and rightly so. Neither should we place ours at their disposal. What then is our duty? It consists solely of defending their right to have their own local units, committees, conferences and newspapers.

That idea of party democracy which prohibits only public advocacy of armed insurrection and permits support of other fundamental ideas in conflict with Socialist philosophy is an absurdity. Death awaits any organization that subscribes to this idea of "democracy."

The Socialist Philosophy of History

WE may now turn to the Socialist philosophy of history and social evolution. For our purpose it is necessary to single out only one main aspect of this philosophy. Throughout all Socialist literature one fact is stressed; a socialist society is impossible until capitalist industry has reached a fairly high stage of development. Socialism is not possible in a feudal or slave economy, as both rest on a broad basis of agriculture, not modern urban industry. Rural economy must give way to capitalist industry before a Socialist economy is possible. The industry of modern capitalism is the economic framework of a socialist society.

It requires from a hundred to several hundred years for this framework, the capital structure of industrial society, to be built. By capital structure we mean modern mills, mines, machines, railroads, shipping, telephones, banking institutions, owned by the capitalist class largely in some corporate form. Organized in this form, the capital structure carries within it the cooperative form of production that is essential to a socialist society. It stands in marked contrast with the petty, scattered, and individualist production of all forms of rural economy. The cooperative type of production is ripe for socialization; small shops, pack-horse transportations, little farms, etc., are not.

In the rural economy, because of individualist production, the psychology of the masses is individualistic. It is not adapted to a social philosophy. The workers in the mechanic trades, and those who made shoes, clothing, hats, bread, dyes, etc., in the home, had a parochial outlook. More important is the fact that they did not have the machine culture of modern industry the experience with steam, electricity, tools, division and sub-division of labor; the skill and knowledge of modern industrial organization and processes, and of the technical character of machine industry.

All of these factors are a product of historical evolution. They are the economic, social, and cultural tissues essential to the cooperative production of a socialist society. They grow slowly over decades, just as the tissues and cells in a human organism do, and as they develop there is a process of change and adjustment to all phases of the evolving organism. A new invention or process, as it comes into use, may have a marked impact upon the machine culture of industry as a whole, and even a new form of transportation or a new industry will register changes in the economic, social, and cultural tissues of society.

History of the Capital Structure

NOW let us consider this industrial framework of society, this capital structure of modern civilization with its mills, mines, factories, machines, railroads, shipping, telephones, banks, steam, electricity, minute division of labor, technology and general machine culture. Where did this capital structure come from? It emerged out of the old rural economy and then developed through decades of economic history. It was not planned nor even anticipated by human beings, either by the exploiters or the exploited. It is the sum total of thousands of factors of historical development; but there is one factor in its evolution that is important in Socialist philosophy.

The capital accumulation necessary to the building of this structure of industry was exploited out of the working class. There is no other source of capital accumulation. Whether we like it or not, the capital structure that is essential to a socialist society must first be built and that capital is derived from labor exploitation.

The capitalist forms of modern civilization cannot be abolished until this capital structure has been reared by the workers to a fairly high stage. Until it is built, Socialists have always held, a socialist society is impossible.

With this fundamental historical contention goes another one derived from it. Any class that rules in the period between the decay of rural economy and the final stage of capitalist production must inevitably be an exploiting class. It is compelled by historical necessity to exploit capital out of the working class, that capital which is necessary to constructing the economic framework of a socialist society. It does not matter whether this class is known as "captains of industry" or Bolsheviks; in either case, the historical conditions compel this ruling class to be exploiters of the working class.

Historical Law Dictates

IN economic history what is known as the "industrial revolution" was a process of creating a new class of labor exploiters; this same industrial revolution in Russia is carried on as an "experiment" under the dictatorship of the Bolshevik party. There also is capital accumulation; there also is a class of labor exploiters. The Bolsheviks took power, although a modern capital structure had not appeared in Russia. They have to build it. To get the capital for it they are compelled to exploit it out of the workers. They are compelled to play the same role of labor exploiters which the capitalist class has played in the development of capital.

No amount of explanation can conceal this fundamental fact. Russia is a nation of labor exploiters, just as each capitalist country is. It could not be otherwise. History dictates to the Bolsheviks; they cannot dictate to history. They took power in a period between the decay of rural economy and the final phases of capitalist development and found themselves without the capital structure that is essential to a Socialist order. They then put the whole working class population under a dictatorship and proceeded to exploit the capital out of the workers and peasants. Other ways to have obtained the capital would be by foreign loans and concessions, but these also mean labor exploitation.

Both have been tried with little success. Assume that the Bolsheviks had obtained substantial loans from foreign bankers. The principal and interest would have had to be paid out of the values fished from the workers. Assume that the program of foreign concessions had developed. In that case the Bolsheviks would have simply become partners of foreign exploiters in exploiting Russian workers. Turn where they will, do what they may, the iron law of history places Bolshevism in the same category with capitalism as a system of labor exploitation.

(To be continued)

The Pennsylvania Front

Legislature Quits After Doing Nothing for The Workers

House Passes Buck to Senate After Passing Some Bills Pushed by Socialist Members

(Special to The New Leader) — When the Pennsylvania Legislature adjourns June 21st it will do so without passing some of the most important labor and social measures. From all indications a special session either in the summer or fall will be necessary.

The present session has still three weeks to go. In the period of confusion which generally takes place during the closing sessions it is feared much legislation unacceptable to Labor will be passed.

Not a single piece of labor legislation became law. The labor bills passed through the efforts of Lilith Wilson and Darlington Hoopes, the two Socialist members, are still tied up in Senate committees. Although both houses passed different minimum wage bills for women neither has shown any indication that action will be taken.

Among the many labor measures the Senate failed to act on are the bills outlawing the Coal and Iron Police and the company-paid deputy sheriffs. These bills are of particular importance to the United Mine Workers.

The amendment to the Workmen's Compensation Act to include occupational diseases also found its graveyard in a Senate Committee. The bill outlawing company unions for which Darlington Hoopes, Socialist, is responsible, and the Workers' Rights Amendment, formulated by Morris Hillquit, the late chairman of the Socialist Party, and introduced by Lilith Wilson, Socialist representative, were both passed by the House, but held up in the Senate.

The full-crew and short-train measures pushed by the railway unions have also been pickled in Senate committees. The Senate, however, did pass a bill requiring a cash deposit from independent political parties and a measure of the same type applying to individual candidates has been introduced.

From the viewpoint of organized labor the Pennsylvania Legislature fell far short of expectations.

Carnegie Branch

CARNEGIE.—Considerable activity is planned by the new branch at Carnegie. Distribution of The New Leader will be maintained and a series of propaganda meetings planned.

Local New York Forms Young Socialist Alliance

An organization called the Young Socialist Alliance was formed by Local New York, in order to hold a large number of former Yipsels together who had been expelled by the New York Y.P.S.L. for no other reason than that they supported the party organization of New York and disapproved of the actions of the Y. P. S. L. Executive Committee in openly defying decisions of Local New York.

As already reported in The New Leader, the conflict between Local New York and the Y.P.S.L. of New York grew out of a decision of the Y.P.S.L. Executive Committee to withdraw support from The New Leader, with a statement which virtually was a call to boycott the official Socialist paper of the New York party organization.

The City Executive Committee thereupon disapproved two Yipsels as candidates for Y.P.S.L. officers who had signed The New Leader statement and called on the Y.P.S.L. to postpone elections and reopen nominations. This decision was ignored; demands to rescind the statement about The New Leader and to drop from membership Yipsels who, because of communistic ideas had been denied party membership, were also categorically refused.

Consequently, the Y.P.S.L. office was closed. On entering the office, it was found that membership lists and other records had previously been removed. The New York Y.P.S.L. then established different headquarters.

A special sub-committee on Y. P. S. L. was put in charge of the New York Y. P. S. L. organization. Although given full power to act and authorized to reorganize the Y. P. S. L., the sub-committee made all possible efforts, over a period of several weeks, to settle the conflict amicably. Meanwhile, the Y.P.S.L. Executive Committee took drastic actions; it proceeded to expel Yipsels who were opposed to the policy of the Y.P.S.L. Executive Committee and to reorganize several circles.

According to the party constitution the Y.P.S.L. is subject to the jurisdiction of the local party organization. It was the repeated refusal to abide by the decisions of the party which had forced Local New York to its action.

When the National Executive Committee at the Buffalo meeting declared "that the Y.P.S.L. of New York be promptly reinstated upon the basis that it shall conform to the decisions of the local..." Local New York welcomed this as a reaffirmation of its position and at once agreed to reinstate the Y. P. S. L. officers and committees, the decisions of Local New York; among these decisions, the

Four Youth Rallies In Pittsburgh

(Special to The New Leader)

PITTSBURGH, Pa.—The Young People's Socialist League of Allegheny County will sponsor four Youth Rallies this coming week in connection with the national membership drive of the national organization.

Robert Parker of New York, member of the National Executive Committee of the Y.P.S.L. and former organizer of the Greater New York Federation of the League, will be the principal speaker at these rallies.

The schedule for the rallies is as follows: Tuesday, June 11, at Squirrel Hill Socialist Headquarters, 2200 Murray Avenue (above Herman's bakery) under the auspices of the Squirrel Hill Circle, Y.P.S.L. Wednesday, June 12, at Comrade Paul's residence, 230 1/2 West 7th Street, Tarentum, Pa. Thursday, June 13, at the Homewood Library, Hamilton and Lang Aves., Pittsburgh, under the auspices of the Homewood Socialist Party and the Y.P.S.L. Friday, June 14, at Comrade Weisberg's residence, 5542 Avondale Place, Pittsburgh, under the auspices of the East Liberty Y.P.S.L. Circle. All meetings start at 8:15 p. m.

Here and There in Pennsylvania

Women's Club in Tarentum

TARENTUM.—A Women's Socialist Club has been formed here. The next meeting will be held on Wednesday, June 12, 8:00 p. m., at the home of Mrs. Petrak. Officers will be elected and a summer program will be discussed.

Socialist Teams to Play

PITTSBURGH.—Two Socialist Mush Ball teams, Universal and Tarentum, are ready to arrange for games in the Pittsburgh district. They may be reached through Michael Kumer, County secretary.

Y.P.S.L. Convention in Pittsburgh

PITTSBURGH.—The Socialist Party of Allegheny County urges Party and Workmen's Circle members, sympathizers and friends, to extend, if possible, the hospitality of their homes to the delegates to the National Convention of the Young People's Socialist League, to be held in Pittsburgh on July 19, 20, and 21. Those who have room to spare can communicate with the County Secretary, Michael Kumer, 122 9th St., or telephone Court 7965.

Iowa to Conduct First Socialist Summer School

The Iowa summer school conference of the Socialist Party will be held at Arnold Park June 10-14. This is the first of a series of twelve summer schools for Socialist organizers in various parts of the country.

The cost of the summer conference will be \$6 for the five days, which will include meals. Members of the conference will be expected to cooperate in some of the household work. For further information address Dr. Ruth Wolcott, Spirit Lake, Iowa.

demands to rescind The New Leader under the condition that the New York Y.P.S.L. should conform to statement, to hold new election, and to drop those over 21 years old who had been refused party membership, were reiterated.

Again, the Y.P.S.L. refused to comply. Those in control of the New York Y.P.S.L. reserved for themselves the right to decide which decisions of Local New York are reasonable and justifiable, and therefore which decisions they are to conform to.

Still the sub-committee postponed further action, in view of an impending meeting of the National Executive Committee of the Y. P. S. L. The views of Local New York were pre-empted, in the hope that the N.E.C. of the Y. P. S. L. would induce the New York Y. P. S. L. to take a different attitude. Unfortunately, these hopes were in vain; the actions of the New York Y.P.S.L. were approved.

With this, all efforts to bring about an amicable settlement were, for the time being, exhausted. But contrary to the rigorous actions of the Y. P. S. L., which had expelled those members who refused to support the Y. P. S. L. Executive Committee, Local New York did not discipline those Yipsels who had openly flouted its decision. The Y. P. S. L. was not reorganized; it is permitted to continue to function.

However, the Young Socialist Alliance was temporarily formed, to provide an organization for those former Yipsels who are good Socialists, willing to work with Local New York and who otherwise would be condemned to inactivity. This organization is now recognized and supported by Local New York. If there are for the present party organizations in New York, the responsibility rests with the Y.P.S.L. which refuses to abide by decisions of the local party organization, and which thereby acts against the party constitution and makes the necessary cooperation between the party and Y.P.S.L. impossible.

The entire conflict is essentially not a dispute on jurisdiction, but the result of a deviation of the Y.P.S.L. from the purpose for which it was founded, namely to

Pittsburgh Jobless Flay "Security" Wage of The Government

"Security" Wages Will Disillusion Workers, Says Robert Lieberman.

(Special to The New Leader)

PITTSBURGH.—Approximately six hundred officials and committee members of the Unemployed Citizens' League of Allegheny County met at League headquarters last Sunday to discuss the Works Relief Program and the so-called Security Wage.

Robert Lieberman, Executive Chairman of the League, pointed out that this so-called "security wage" will serve to disillusion those among the unemployed who looked forward with hope towards the Democratic administration. "It is obvious that the Works Relief Program was not designed to provide workers with jobs at which they may earn a decent living, but rather to give the recipients of relief an opportunity to work for their relief," Lieberman further stated that this wage move is fraught with danger to the organized and employed workers and will tend to reduce the American standard of living to an even lower level than the law under which it is operating now.

Those assembled unanimously agreed to stand solidly with the organized workers to fight any attempt by the Relief Works Division to lower the prevailing union rate of wages in the Pittsburgh District. League officers reported that cooperation and advice has been sought and secured from the local building trades unions and the American Federation of Labor representative in the Pittsburgh District, David William, pledged full cooperation of his office.

Raymond Cook, member of the National Executive Board of the Workers' Alliance of America, reported an interview with Mr. Jacob Baker, assistant to Federal Relief Administrator Hopkins, in charge of the Works Division, showing that wages would range from 11 to 48 cents per hour. These figures cover skilled labor also.

The Unemployed Citizens League is contemplating expansion of its organization to include those on relief projects.

Sayre Workers in Drive

SAYRE.—The Party branch is launching a campaign to enlarge the Socialist enrollment. This campaign will be followed by a systematic distribution of literature.

"Marching On," Story of I.L.G.W.U., in Pictures

A spectacle, combining a dozen choruses, the presentation of a modern dance ensemble, playing by half a dozen dramatic groups, a concert program by several mandolin orchestras and a parade of an athletic division, will be presented by the Recreation Department of the International Ladies' Garment Workers' Union on Sunday, June 9, at 2:30 p. m., in the New York Hippodrome.

Topping the performance will be the sound movie, "Marching On," depicting the history of the I.L.G.W.U. from the early days of the garment industry to the recent NRA period. Reel by reel it will dramatize on the screen the days when workers in the needle trades carried their machines on their backs from one sweatshop to another, "the revolt of 1910," and the great struggles over a span of twenty-five years.

Among those who appear in the film are the early leaders of the International, Benjamin Schlesinger, Morris Sigman, Abraham Baroff, and its advisers, Morris Hillquit and Meyer London, as well as Samuel Gompers and William Green.

Workers' Sports Will Hold Dance in Union City

The Eastern District Soccer League, affiliated with the newly formed Workers' Sport League of America, member of the Socialist Workers' Sports Internationale, will hold its first summertime dance Saturday, June 8th, at the hall of the Hudson County Worker Sport Association, Hudson Boulevard and 26th St., Union City, N. J. All soccer players will meet there after a strenuous season. Friends of the Socialist Workers' Sports Movement are invited.

Directions: West 42nd St. Ferry at Jersey Shore, then Union City trolleycar to 26th St., walk to Hudson Blvd. Entrance on new road.

be a training ground for future party members. Instead of this, it had become engaged in internal party controversies and finally the tool of the militant faction, which is now in fact a dual organization, with its own paper and its own headquarters.

Nothing stands in the way of a united youth movement in New York but the policy of those in control of the New York Y.P.S.L. who persist in carrying on a factional warfare and in refusing to abide by the decisions of the local

Reading Campaign Opened At Tremendous Rally

READING, Pa.—The first picnic of the season and the opening of the Socialist campaign to recapture the city administration was held last Sunday in the beautiful Socialist picnic park at Sinking Springs. Blessed with a very fine day, over 15,000 people were in the park and they enjoyed the warm sunshine, the speeches and the entertainment. Hundreds of comrades were busy catering to the huge crowd and a mountain of Pennsylvania pies were baked and donated for the occasion by women comrades.

At 4 p. m. the program commenced at the platform and a huge crowd listened attentively. Raymond Hofses opened the speech-making and introduced J. Henry Stump, former mayor and candidate for re-election this fall. A great demonstration greeted him and he briefly described the accomplishments of the previous Socialist administration, the doings of the Fusionists during the last 4 years and put up a fighting appeal for the recapture of the city for the working class.

John Mooney of California was next introduced and he made a stirring defence of his brother Tom Mooney and told of the nationwide efforts being made to free him. The great crowd voted a resolution to the Governor of Tom Mooney. It also voted for a message of greetings in his struggle for freedom.

August Claessens was the last speaker and he described the political, economic, cooperative and idealistic aspects of the world-wide Socialist movement.

Our Reading organization is in excellent condition and the prospects for victory in the coming elections are very good. Fusion or no fusion, it is predicted that the Socialists will sweep into office all of their candidates and once more remain in the list of Socialist municipal governments.

The only sad note in the whole day of festivities was sensed in the absence of Jim Maurer, Reading's most beloved comrade and leader, whose serious illness is a matter of profound concern to every Socialist in Reading and the entire country.

Party Progress

New York State

Ithaca.—Local Tompkins County held its regular business and educational meeting at the Trade Studies on Wednesday evening, Rev. Ralph Williamson of the Danby Greater Parish addressed the local on the subject of "Cooperation, Christianity and Socialism."

New York City

United Socialist Drive
Branch officers not in possession of their allotment of United Socialist Drive lists are requested to appear at the party office at the earliest moment. Money is coming in from various branches and an intensive drive is on during June and July to put the drive over.

Booklets

Booklets are going very rapidly. An excellent opportunity to enjoy vacation. Further particulars from party office.

Women's Activities

Meeting on High Cost of Living: Friday, June 7, 8:30 p. m., Workmen's Circle Branch 218-B—Jenny Goldman.
Tuesday, June 11, 2 p. m., Upper East Bronx Unit, Sidney and Granger Aves., Lillian Friedlitz, Mrs. Babit, Kate Gerber, Esther Friedman, Estelle Abramson.
Midwood-Brighton Unit, Coney Island and Brighton Beach Aves.—Jane Smull, Mrs. Holmes, Anna Weiss and others.

Wednesday, June 12, 2 p. m., Bensonhurst Unit, 2218 Bay Parkway—Clara Rothstein, Julia Primoff, Jenny Goldman, Elizabeth Smith and others.
Thursday, June 13, 2 p. m., West Bronx Unit, Burnside and Walton Aves.—Kate Gerber, Estelle Abramson, Esther Friedman and others.

Celebration Luncheon.—Wednesday, June 12, 2 p. m., Midwood-Brighton Unit of their headquarters, 180 St. and Ave. P., Brooklyn. This event is to celebrate the successful first year of the Unit, a remarkably well-attended course of with special emphasis on fifteen weeks lectures on "The Tragedy of Waste," concluded at 5 p. m.

MANHATTAN

4th A.D.—Our meeting protesting against the high cost of living, May 28, Clinton Hall, was a huge success. Open air meeting with follow up of our campaign. First meeting June 12, Norfolk and Delancey Sts., 8:30 p. m.

KINGS

Women's Committee of the Flatbush Cultural Center are running a party and supper on June 8 at 1719 Ave. P. Admission 75 cents.

16th A. D.—Kings.—Tuesday, June 11, William E. Bohn will speak: "Road to Power," 6618 Bay Parkway.
Midwood Br., 2nd A.D.—Business meeting Monday, June 10, at branch headquarters, Flatbush Cultural Center, 1719 Ave. P. A campaign committee was elected last meeting. Plans will be formulated for a very active campaign.

BRONX

Lower 8th A. D.—Regular business meeting, June 11, at 1638 E. 172nd St. Second lecture by August Tyler on "American Labor." Picnic at Tibbets Park on Sunday, June 16.

7th A. D.—Special branch meeting Tuesday, June 11, 789 Elmside Pl.
Upper 8th A. D.—Strawberry festival and entertainment, which will include the presence of August Claessens, Saturday, June 8, at 1638 E. 172nd St. Concourse Subway, in Stadium of Midwood Ave. eve., June 10, 3230 Bainbridge Ave. Hall, Small admission charge.

6th A. D.—2nd Street meeting Friday, June 11, Westchester and Hoyt Aves. Alameda Branch.—Branch is closing successful winter's lectures and Women's Class in Socialism with a social for members and friends, Saturday, June 8, at Workmen's Circle School, Bronx, 1600 Ave. C. 2 p. m. admission free. Expenses. Elaborate program of music, refreshments, etc.

QUEENS

Astoria Branch meetings now every 2nd and 4th Mondays. Workmen's Circle will meet in our headquarters every Tuesday evening.

Dinner and Dance for benefit of United Socialist Fund, Saturday, June 8, at Astoria, 16th Ave. and 17th St. Includes 200 people. Price 35c, includes dinner and dancing, 5 piece orchestra, Sunside Branch, Astoria, N. Y., June 9 (in case of rain, June 16) at Hillside Park, L. I. Picnic grounds are on right.

Do two things, build the Socialist Party and get subs for The New Leader to help build it.

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Features of the Week on (1200 Kc.) WEVD (231 M)

Sun.—11 a. m., Forward Hour, music and sketches; 12:15 p. m., Variety Show featuring Celia Budkin; 8:15, Edith Friedman, piano; 8:30, Chicago Opera Company; 10, Symposium; 10:30, Scene from "Parade," by Theatre Guild.

Mon.—8 a. m., "Starting the Day Right," Jacob S. List; 3:30 p. m., String Ensemble. Tues.—8 p. m., Slavavsky String Quartet; 8:15, Frank Bohn, news commentator; 8:30, "What Next for America," talk; 10, New Leader News Review; 10:15, Celia Heller Miller, soprano; 10:45, "The Four Chords," vocal quartet. Wed.—8:15 p. m., Welfare Council, talk; 8:30, Premier Instrumental Trio; 8:45, Studio Program; 10:15, "National Labor Scene," University of the Air; 10:30, Raymond Shannon, baritone.

Thurs.—8:15 p. m., Charlotte Tonhazy, violin; 8:30, Eugene Hyron Morgan, harp; 8:45, Royal Dutch Traveler, Hendrik de Leeuw; 10:15, Newspaper Guild on the Air.

Fri.—8 p. m., Silver String Quartet; 8:15, Frank Bohn, news commentator; 8:30, Slammund Spach, "The Talent Detective"; 10, Max Webster, "Flamingo"; 10:15, Voice of Local 89, Italian Variety Show; 6 p. m., "Jewish Events of the Week," talk; 8, Metropolitan String Ensemble; 8:30, Don Ayvon's Orchestra; 10, Chicago Opera Company.

Drastic Anti-"Red" Bill Is Advanced

SACRAMENTO, Calif. — The most drastic "anti-Red" bill introduced in the legislature this session has received the approval of the Assembly Crime Problems Committee and was sent to the lower house.

The bill, Assembly Bill 20, by Assemblyman Frank Martin of Altadena, would make it a felony for any person (1) to advocate the overthrow of the government by force, (2) to publish or distribute literature advocating such action, (3) to be a member of any society which advocates overthrow by force, or (4) to display any red flag or emblem of any revolutionary organization.

Violations would be punishable by a state prison term of 1 to 14 years. The measure also makes it a misdemeanor, punishable by a maximum fine of \$1,000 or a jail term of one year, for any person to attend or remain in attendance at a meeting where forcible overthrow is advocated or to permit the use of a hall or room by "Red" organizations.

Bronx Labor Drama Group

The Bronx Labor Drama Group, consisting of young Socialists, will give its first presentation on June 16th at the Y.C.L.A. Center, 11 Union Square West, at 8:40. Two plays will be given, "Nigger Be Damned" and "First Principle of Man." There will also be a chorus by the Theatre of Social Protest of Brooklyn.

side of parking space entrance. Directions: By auto, Queens Blvd. to Grand Central Parkway to Hillside Park. Grounds near the taxi station. By subway, 146th St. Station, Flushing (either I.R.T. or B.M.T. or 2nd Ave. "L"). Then take Z and M bus marked Queens Village Express to Park. Further information, Leonard Korn, Greenpoint Ave., L. I. City; Stillwell 4-0418.

THE WORKMEN'S CIRCLE 75,000 MEMBERS

NEW LEADER

A Socialist Party Publication Devoted to the Interests of the Socialist and Labor Movement.

JAMES ONEAL, Editor

WM. M. FEIGENBAUM, Associate

Signed contributions do not necessarily represent the policy of The New Leader. On the other hand it welcomes a variety of opinions consistent with its declared purpose.

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THE CRISIS FACING LABOR

THE NEW LEADER goes to press as the Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor meets in Washington to consider the crisis facing the working class of the nation. This crisis follows the decision of the United States Supreme Court striking down codes under the NRA and the establishment of subsistence wages by President Roosevelt on public works. Proposed social legislation is partly affected by the decision.

These two events have stirred the organized workers throughout the country, and in several large cities they have met to plan resistance to wage reductions and extension of the hours of labor. Last week Assistant Secretary of Labor McGrady declared that he had already received word of wage reductions in seventeen states to take effect this week. From other sources come reports of labor exploiters announcing wage slashes and extension of the hours of labor. While the workers are reeling under the impact of two staggering blows, it is essential that all local programs of action be correlated with uniform action on a national scale.

The present crisis may prove to be an epoch in the labor movement of this country. Just as a material substance will resist blow after blow, yet the time comes when the cumulative effects of a series of blows will bring a change in its form. The substance is the same, but its form is different and it must be adapted to new conditions. The same is true of human organizations, and the next few weeks or months may witness the organized working class marching in more unity and to new heights not dreamed of a few years ago.

DEAD HANDS RULE THE LIVING

WHETHER the United States Supreme Court has the power to veto laws of Congress is still in dispute, although it is clear that no clear grant of such power can be cited. However, it is a tragedy that society should be hampered by the dead hand of the past. The men who framed the Constitution had no comprehension of the world in which the modern generation lives, and were they to emerge from their tombs they would be as much surprised as a Caesar would be if he walked the streets of Paris today.

The Constitution was framed for a society that was almost wholly agricultural. Our civilization is industrial with its great powers of production and distribution owned by giant trusts and mergers. The candle and pine torch have been replaced by the electric light; the pack-horse and wagon by the railway; the town crier by the daily newspaper, the telegraph, wireless and radio; home and shop production by vast industrial plants equipped with machinery; local markets by the world market.

An industrial revolution has occurred since the First Congress met in 1789, and yet the mind of an old agricultural age speaks through the Constitution to the mind of this age of industry and invention. It is an absurdity piled upon the absurdity of starvation in the midst of plenty.

WAS THE NRA GOOD OR BAD?

WITH the death of the NRA, one aspect of it is interesting. Whether one liked it or not, for the time being it was a structure functioning within modern society. The working class could not ignore it, especially the workers who are organized. Was it good or bad? As Engels once said, it is characteristic of all utopians to answer such questions with a "Yea" or "Nay." Not so the Socialists.

For the workers it was neither one nor the other, for the NRA contained both good and bad. Those who asserted that it was one or the other, recall what Engels said of him who thinks that things and their ideas "are isolated, are to be considered one after the other and apart from each other, are objects of investigation fixed, rigid, given once for all. He thinks in absolutely irreconcilable antithesis. For him a thing exists or does not exist; a thing cannot at the same time be itself and something else."

This "commonsense" view soon finds itself involved in glaring contradictions because it is in conflict with the scientific method. In political matters it makes one an impossibilist, one who is unable to adjust himself and his actions to a changing environment and thus make himself useful. The very fact that workers in many industries are fighting mad against the Supreme Court decision, that the higher wages many have obtained are threatened and that they are preparing to resist, show a more scientific attitude than those who act upon a rigid "Yea" or "Nay" philosophy. One cannot tell hundreds of thousands of workers who have obtained higher wages and shorter hours that they should have acted in accord with "Nay." Their own experience is a sufficient answer.

On the other side of the ledger was the chiseling, the dodging of codes and even sabotage of codes; the delays in ruling on disputes, the red tape and stupid routineers who blundered in making decisions. These were all to the bad, and any renewal of the NRA in some other form will repeat them; but if renewed the workers will have to act and will act as they did before.

Hail! Hail! The Gang's All Here!



"Gentlemen, now let us take up the little matter of keeping the lower orders in the place to which the Almighty has assigned them. No nonsense about their legal rights, you understand."

The NIRA Decision

The Supreme Court as a Bulwark of Reaction and a Hindrance To Progress

By Joseph Schlossberg

Secretary-Treasurer of the Amalgamated Clothing Workers

THE Supreme Court has invalidated the National Industrial Recovery Act. At present we are concerned particularly about the abolition of the legal standards for minimum wages and maximum hours. Though the blow delivered by the court stunned the nation, it was not entirely unexpected.

This court has killed labor legislation in the past. It should be enough to mention the Child Labor Act of some years ago, and the Railroad Retirement Act, which was declared unconstitutional not long ago. Many millions of dollars, besides for old workers worn out in the service of the railroads, were made a gift by the Supreme Court to the railroad owners.

Before the Civil War the Supreme Court upheld chattel slavery. Since then it has on various occasions stood by the privileged and the powerful, and against the people.

The surprise was not in the action of the court, but in its unanimity. Somehow the country had become accustomed to the belief that two or three of the nine judges were what is vaguely called liberals. A dissenting liberal opinion had been expected of them, a word of sympathetic interest in the people's welfare.

What matters most is not whether the Recovery Act was good or bad. The labor movement had serious grievances in connection with the Act, especially with its enforcement. The most important thing to us is the fact that the Supreme Court has declared, almost in so many words, that Congress cannot enact vitally needed labor or social legislation. If intra-state employment cannot be reached by federal legislation on hours and wages, nearly all places of employment will become intra-state. No plant or other establishment is located in more than one state.

Ox-Cart Economics

To speak of our present-day economic life as of intra-state economics is like speaking of aviation in the terms of ox-cart transportation. Economic life today is national and international. States' rights, in an economic sense, are a fiction.

When the court tells us that states must deal with wages and hours in intra-state commerce, we cannot help remembering that a 10-hour law for bakers, enacted by the State of New York, was declared unconstitutional. And we also remember that a provision against labor injunctions, written by Arizona into its State Constitution, was declared unconstitutional. In neither case was action by the state of any help.

A nation of one hundred and thirty million people is struggling with the overwhelming problem of the economic depression. The workers demand stronger and more adequate laws; the employers' combinations oppose bitterly anything that is of advantage to the workers; more than 500 elected representatives of the people are engaged in a titanic legislative battle; all of the vital forces in the nation are making strenuous efforts to deal in some manner with an unparalleled situation, but the Supreme Court disregards all that and, instead of aiding, throws a bombshell into the national arena. The court has solved no problem, but has already created general confusion and may cause widespread demoralization.

Courts were set up as a branch of the government, to guard

against confusion and demoralization, not to promote them; to interpret and apply the laws in the interests of the people; not against them.

Retreat to States

The Supreme Court refers us to the states for labor and social legislation. But when we come to the individual states our opponents invariably warn us that such legislation would, under the



Joseph Schlossberg

force of competition, drive the industries out of the states which have social legislation into those which have not. We are told, therefore, that such legislation cannot be by states; it must be federal. But when the federal legislature acts, the Supreme Court says: "You cannot do it; that must be done by the states."

An attempt to abolish child labor in a state would be met by the opponents with the cry that one state cannot do it; it would raise the cost of labor and would put the state at a competitive disadvantage; it must be done nationally. But when a Child Labor Amendment to the Federal Constitution is proposed, the issue of states' rights is promptly raised, and ratification of the amendment is blocked. Any argument is good so long as it stops labor legislation.

The Federal Anti-Trust Act was allowed by the Supreme Court to stand as the law of the land. Restriction of trade is illegal. When the Supreme Court was called to pass upon the law, the court read the word "unreasonable" into the law. The law does not say that only "unreasonable" restraints of trade are illegal, but the court "amended" the law, by interpretation, to read that way. Thus the Supreme Court showed that it is not only a court of law, but also a political court. It made its decision to suit the interests of big business.

Zig-Zag Decisions

Once it also acted with expedition in favor of a labor case, the Adamson Act. Just before America entered the war the powerful railroad Brotherhoods demanded the eight-hour day. Congress granted it quickly by passing the Adamson Act. The railroads companies went to the Supreme Court and attacked the constitutionality of the Act. The ordinarily slow-moving court displayed remarkable agility this time, and sustained the Act at record speed, and in time to prevent a railroad strike. A bakers' ten-hour law was unconstitutional; a railroad workers' eight-hour law is constitutional. The contradictory attitude of the court is explained by expediency, not by legal principles or philosophy. The railroad workers occupied a commanding

position, and they got favorable action. The Adamson case showed clearly that the Supreme Court, like other bodies of human beings, respects power.

The Supreme Court says: "It is not within the province of the court to consider economic advantages or disadvantages of such a centralized system. It is sufficient to say that the Federal Constitution does not provide for it." But neither does the Federal Constitution give the Supreme Court the power to declare legislation unconstitutional. The court just took that power. The United States is the only country in the whole civilized world whose court holds such a dangerous weapon in its hand. In no other country can a court override the action of the legislature, whose members are elected by the people and are responsible to them. As things stand, there seems to be no way of taking that power away from the court except by a constitutional amendment, which is a very slow and difficult process. If Congress should initiate such an amendment the labor movement will give it its full support.

A Challenge to Labor

The Recovery Act decision of the Supreme Court is, in effect, an invitation to the employers to lengthen hours and reduce wages. The employers are already doing it. For this reason the decision is also a challenge to the workers, which they must accept. The standards, particularly in hours and wages, must be defended against all attacks. The organized workers are determined to resist any attempts that might be made on those standards. The Amalgamated Clothing Workers of America and other trade unions have issued a call to their members to do everything possible to oppose any lowering of standards. We are mobilizing our forces to be ready for action where that may be necessary. If strikes must be called in order to protect our standards, strikes will be called. Special funds will be raised in order to finance those strikes.

The fact that the Supreme Court has annihilated at the same time the Recovery Act for the wage workers and the Frazier-Lemke Act for the impoverished farmers is symbolic of the need of the workers and the farmers getting together for united political action.

Thirty-four years ago a British court handed down the famous Taff-Vale decision against the trade union. That aroused the British workers to the need of political action, and they built up a powerful labor party. It may perhaps be too much to hope for a similar result here in the near future as labor's reply to the action of the Supreme Court. But we hope that eventually there will be a labor party in this country. A strong and enlightened labor movement is the only real hope for the American people. Other agencies either serve the employers or are helpless. The hope of the labor movement lies in a powerful organization of city and land workers.

The Dred Scott decision of the Supreme Court, generations ago, served to stimulate interest among the American people in the abolition of Negro slavery. The present Supreme Court decision, which is so emphatically in favor of property rights and against human rights, will, we hope, serve to open the eyes of the great masses of the American workers and farmers to the compelling need of industrial and political organization. In the meantime we are ready for such action as may be immediately necessary and possible.

Happy-Go-Lucky President Offers Wretched Stop-Gap

By Algernon Lee

THE men who framed the National Industrial Recovery Act two years ago were perhaps excusable for taking a long chance as to its constitutionality. There seemed to be and very likely there was a grave and

pressing danger that, unless something was done to restore confidence in the possibility of solving economic problems by orderly political methods, large sections of the population, not in any one class alone, but in all classes, would soon fall into a mood of panic fear and panic hate, thus bringing American society to that state of chaos which some pseudo-revolutionary playboys had been wishing for, because they thought it would give them the opportunity to set up a sectarian dictatorship mislabeled "workers' democracy," but which every mature and thoughtful person knew could result in nothing else than a triumph for brutal reaction and increased misery for the masses. Those in authority had to act, and act quickly. To be sure, Mr. Roosevelt and his friends ought to have done some thinking between Election Day and Inauguration Day, or even before they were elected, but that would be too much to expect of them. Coming into office without a program, they had to improvise one.



Algernon Lee

Under these circumstances, it is no wonder that the New Deal legislation in general, and NIRA in particular, was pretty confused and at many points self-contradictory, as well as being faulty in detail. Its fundamental fault was that on account of which it has now been declared unconstitutional—the wholesale delegation of legislative powers to the executive branch of the government. While no one can be quite sure whether a law is constitutional or not until the Supreme Court has ruled on it, there was every reason to expect that, when a test case finally reached that tribunal, at least a majority of the justices would hold, what in fact all nine have now held, that Congress could not under the Constitution thus hand over its law-making function to the President and his appointees. President Roosevelt probably gambled on two chances: First, that the court might, under the theory of emergency in matters "affected with a public interest," uphold an act which would otherwise clearly be unconstitutional;

second, that it would probably take, as in fact it has taken, a couple of years for the question to get before the court of last resort, and that by this time the unconstitutional law would have worked the magic that was expected of it, prosperity would have returned, and it would be safe to drop NIRA and "get back to normalcy." He was wrong on both bets.

This might have been forgiven him if he had used the time thus gained to prepare for the event of an adverse decision. But no, not he. "Take no thought for the morrow" seems to be his rule of life. Twenty-three months rolled by, and on the fatal Monday, May 25, 1935, Franklin D. Roosevelt learned with utter surprise and vain regret that the great act of June, 1933, was wiped off the statute book. No President in our history has shown such utter lack of foresight—for we are not yet ready to believe that, like James Buchanan, he deliberately let the country drift toward disaster.

The whole matter, says Roosevelt, is now "in the hands of the people." At best, that means waiting two years for the possible adoption of an amendment which would meet the objections raised by the Supreme Court or for the enactment of a new law, similar in purpose to NIRA, but different enough in form to stand for a year or two before it, too, could be declared unconstitutional. Meanwhile, let the working people get along as best they can.

The President offers us a miserable stop-gap bill, setting up machinery to collect business information as to how things are going without codes or under such codes as the capitalists may voluntarily pretend to observe, and providing that contractors supplying materials for government work must comply with some requirements as to wages and working hours.

It is not "business information" that the workers want. Their employers are already informing them that they must work more hours for less wages. As for the other provision, not only does it leave the vast majority of the workers altogether unprotected, but the sort of protection that may be hoped for by those employed in producing material for public works can be inferred from what the President has already decreed for the workers who are to handle and place that material—from \$4.38 to \$21.69 a week.

It is not the Supreme Court that should be blamed for what has happened. The blame must be placed directly at the door of the President.

But let the people not forget to blame themselves for having elected that kind of a President.

The New Leader Book Corner

Schlossberg Looks at the World

By James Oneal

THE WORKERS AND THEIR WORLD. By Joseph Schlossberg. A.L.P. Committee, 15 Union Square, New York, \$1.

PUBLISHED in honor of his sixtieth birthday by the Amalgamated Local Publishing Committee of the Amalgamated Clothing Workers, this interesting book consists of selections from the writings of Joe within the past decade and a final section that is largely an autobiography. Personal reminiscences also run through the selections.

The book has a special merit at this time. In saying this, I do not mean that Joe has written a book that is impeccable. None of us is capable of that. Nor am I concerned with the fact that with some of his observations in the essays some readers would disagree. If I were the author of a similar book I could not hope to win general assent to everything it contained.

What has impressed me with the book as a whole is the simplicity of its composition, the sound philosophy which runs through it, and its value in the hands of raw recruits to the labor and Socialist movement who too often run around in circles. Joe completed the circle in his youth, as I did when I was an impossibilist three decades ago.

To illustrate. Recently a youth organization announced that it would place less emphasis upon education. It was going in for action. That means that it has entered upon a course of traveling the circle. In the first paragraph of the final section of this book Schlossberg asks himself: If he were to live his life over again, would he follow the same course? His answer is Yes, "but I entered the labor movement emotionally." I would re-enter it intellectually. The philosophy of this observation is not likely to affect the youth organization that does not place education first upon its agenda, but it sums up what is essential to a stable organization of the workers.

Throughout the book the author appears in this role, the essay section including the years from

1926 to the present, with one exception, 1917. Here old figures in the labor and Socialist movement come to life again—Gompers, Debs, DeLeon, Haywood, and others. Here old conflicts and factional struggles are seen in the perspective of years—the K. of L., the A. F. of L., the S. L. P., the S. T. and L. A., the I. W. W., and others. To be sure, they are sketchy in the essays but they are considered more at length in the biographical section. There are flashlights of observation and interpretation as he recalls experiences of former years, interesting and informative as a general rule.

Well, there is a cult today that discounts age and the education to be obtained from study and experience. Applied to dentistry it would have a carpenter teeth. So be it. Its devotees will complete the circle and thirty years from now some of them will write books something like this one before us.

As an old fossil who completed the circle long ago, I got a kick out of this book. The selections are well made and the book as a whole is an antidote for the emotionalism and impatience that is all too rife today. It should be required reading for the youngster who joined the movement yesterday and who intends to revolutionize it tomorrow.

Labor College Conference in Boston, June 16th

CHELSEA, Mass. — The New England Labor College will conduct a conference on Workers' Education at the Bradford Hotel, Boston, Sunday, June 16th, at 2 p. m.

The New England Labor College is a non-factional institution designed to prepare men and women for active service in the labor movement.

August Claessens of New York, Chairman of the Socialist Party's Labor Committee, will be among the speakers. Many trade unions, workmen circle branches and fraternal organizations have signified their intentions of attending this conference to launch a labor college in New England.